The Origins of the Tun-huang Popular Narratives and Their Influences on Later Vernacular Literature

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Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Ph.D. in Chinese

University of London

1982

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30/5/85

Abstract of Thesis

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The purpose of this thesis is to understand as much as possible of the history of the popular Chinese literary genre called pien-wen. These texts date from the eighth through the tenth centuries and are important because they represent the earliest surviving examples of extended vernacular narrative known in China.

The thesis begins with a brief discussion of the discovery of the pien-wen manuscripts at Tun-huang in the northwestern province of Kansu. The author then turns to an intensive philological study of the term pien-wen and thereby justifies his translation of it as "transformation text." Having completed this analysis, he is in a position to delineate the corpus of pien-wen. In the process, he distinguishes it from other types of popular literary texts discovered at Tun-huang such as sūtra lectures (chiang-ching-wen). The author then moves on to the significant questions of who wrote the pien-wen and why. He marshals evidence that most of the copyists were lay students studying at Buddhist monasteries in Tun-huang. The author proceeds to show that pien-wen were the written descendants of a type of oral performance called chuan-pien ("turning transformation [scrolls]"). This was a folk entertainment in which a storyteller used a picture scroll to illustrate his or her tale. The sudden and mysterious disappearance of pien-wen during the first half of the eleventh century is then explained.

The last major section of the thesis deals with the effects of pien-wen on later Chinese popular literature, chief among these being the adoption of the prosimetric form and the use of vernacular language. The thesis concludes with an assessment of the current state of research on pien-wen.

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Chapter One Tun-huang and the Manuscripts

A little more than ten miles SSE of the city of Tun-huang 敦煌 in the northwestern Chinese province of Kansu lies the Howling Sands Hill 鳴沙山. At the foot of the hill is a Monastery of the Three Realms (Triloka) 三界寺 beside which are to be found many conglomerate rock caves called the "Grottoes of Unsurpassed Height" (Mo-kao k'u 莫高窟), popularly known as the "Caves of the Thousand Buddhas" (Ch'ien-Fo tung 千佛洞). It was here that the manuscripts which form the major focus of this study were found. The caves were visited by Aurel Stein in May of 1907 and by Paul Pelliot in February of 1908. Both men recovered from Tun-huang thousands of manuscripts which they took back, respectively, to the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale where they are now housed. These are the two most important collections of Tun-huang manuscripts in the world. Large numbers of manuscripts are also to be found in Russia and China. Smaller collections are owned by libraries in Taiwan and Japan. There are also a few scattered manuscripts held by various individuals and institutions in other countries.[1]

The full story of the discovery, removal, and dispersion of the manuscripts from the Tun-huang cave where they were found is an interesting and complicated series of events which requires separate treatment.[2] For the purposes of the present study, it will only be necessary to make some general observations about Tun-huang and the hoard of manuscripts that was found there.

In the first place, it is incorrect to say, as many often do, that Tun-huang was an isolated provincial town in terms of its relation to China. It was actually — in terms of its relation to the larger world — a most cosmopolitan city. Even the name Tun-huang is the transcription of a foreign world which has not been positively identified. The Greek equivalent is Θροανα and the Sogdian *δruwān or *δruwan (δrw"n).[3]

Tun-huang was a thriving international community, a bustling crossroads of cultural and commercial interchange.[4] Contacts with the capital in Ch'ang-an 長安 were frequent, both by governmental and religious personages, as well as by merchants.[5] Administratively, Tun-huang was not a commandery (chün 郡) under the T'ang but was itself a district or sub-prefecture (hsien 縣) and served also as the seat of the prefecture (chou 州) of Sha 沙 .[6]

After a visit to Tun-huang, Joseph Needham was moved to comment thus on the wall-paintings of the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas: "These reflect the internationalism of the period by showing monks and lay people sometimes with brown or even red hair, and blue or green eyes, as well as occidental features."[7] It needs only to be added that the Tun-huang wall paintings also reflect the internationalism of the place.

Many of the most renowned Buddhist translators and pilgrims stayed in Tun-huang for significant periods of time. Fa-hsien 法顯 began his journey to the Buddhist holy land at Tun-huang. And Hsüan-tsang 玄奘 , on his return from India, remained there while awaiting the Emperor Hsüan-tsung's 玄宗 orders. Dharmarakṣa 法護 (c. 230-308), was even born there and was called the "Bodhisattva from Tun-huang." Kūmarajīva spent some time at Tun-huang before travelling on to Ch'ang-an. Buddhist monks from Persia, Bactria, India, Sogdia, Khotan, and numerous other places would spend a period of time in Tun-huang acclimatizing themselves to China before proceeding on to the capital or elsewhere in the heartland with their manuscripts and messages.

Except for periods, such as that of the Tibetan occupation,[8] when communication was impeded, there was constant communication between Tun-huang and the rest of China. Hence there were artistic and literary influences flowing in both directions. We know, for example, of a famous cleric named Yün-pien 雲辯 ("Cumulous Debater," d. 951), who had written poems for geisha girls in Ch'ang-an and who, at the same time, had a profound effect on the type of popular lectures delivered at Tun-huang, where some of his personal

documents were found.[9] We also know that pictures of the famous pilgrimage site, Five Terraces Mountain 五臺山,[10] (in north-eastern Shansi) were common at Tun-huang[11] which indicates that pilgrims travelled back and forth between these two sites and elsewhere in China.

Geographically, Tun-huang is situated at the crucial point in western Kansu where the northern and southern trade routes to Turkestan and western Asia branch out along the sides of the Taklamakan desert. These northern and southern arms of the Silk Route which skirted the Tarim basin met at the Jade Gate Pass 玉門關, which was not far from Tun-huang. It is no wonder that Tun-huang has been referred to as China's "throat," for through it poured much from outside which nourished her. The "Biography of P'ei Chü" 裴矩傳 in the History of the Sui, citing the preface to his Notes on Pictures of the Western Regions, describes the geographic and strategic situation thus:

> Altogether there are three ways which begin at Tun-huang and reach to the Western Ocean.... All the various countries on each of these three ways also each has its own roads for communication north and south. The Eastern Kingdom of Women[12] and the Brahman kingdoms in the south, etc., can reach everywhere by following where these roads lead. Thus we know that, while Hami, Karakhojo, and Navapa (Pidjan) are all gates to the Western Regions, they all converge on Tun-huang, which is the location of their throat.[13]

As Grousset has put it in terms of the transmission of artistic motifs and techniques, "The culminating point of all these Central-Asiatic influences, with what they contained of Indian traditions or, through Indian Buddhism, of Graeco-Buddhist and Irano-Buddhist traditions, is to be found in Tun-huang."[14] The languages alone (Chinese, Sanskrit, Tibetan, Syriac, Uighur, Sogdian, Khotanese, etc.) of the manuscripts found at Tun-huang are a good indication of the international flavor of the

city. Truly, Tun-huang was a great meeting place between East and West.

Japanese scholars have been particularly fascinated by Tun-huang, not only for its romantically exotic, desert setting, but more so because it represents to them an almost tangible point of contact between Western and Eastern civilization, between Buddhist and Chinese art of all types, including literature. Many Japanese look to Tun-huang as a crucible where important elements of their own culture were forged.[15] There is even a recent best-selling novel on Tun-huang written by Inoue Yasushi.

Though the preservation of the manuscripts may be considered a miracle of sorts, it is no accident that they were preserved in Tun-huang. This was an area which had a long history of Buddhist piety and was closer to the source of Buddhism than any other part of China. The geographic location, an imminent Tangut invasion, the existence of a tightly-knit, pious Buddhist community willing to collect and store away the manuscripts, and the climate, which is ideal for the preservation of paper and silk — all these factors contributed to the survival of the Tun-huang manuscripts. Thus, although I shall show that transformations (pien 變) were performed throughout China, it is fully understandable why written transformation texts (pien-wen 變文) happen to have been preserved at Tun-huang rather than somewhere else.

While the exact date of the discovery of the manuscripts may never be known, it seems certain that they were found sometime around the turn of the century. All of the dates proposed which deserve serious consideration fall between the early summer of 1899 and the early summer of 1900.[16] The story[17] goes that a Taoist priest named Wang Yüan-lu 王圓籙 , who had taken up residence at the Grottoes of Unsurpassed Height and appointed himself their custodian, was sweeping away the dust in cave 163 (Pelliot number; Chang Ta-ch'ien 張大千 no. 151; Tun-huang Research Institute no. 16; Shih Yen(Yai) 史岩 no. 401) when he felt a draft coming from a crack in one of the side walls near the entrance. Upon

breaking down the wall that had been filled in with bricks, he found the hoard of manuscripts in the adjoining room. It was, as Kanaoka Shōkō has written, a veritable "mountain of waste-paper."[18] When Stein first saw the manuscripts *in situ*, he was struck by how jumbled they were.[19] This may have been due to the Taoist priest Wang's handling of them. But, both from Stein's and Pelliot's accounts, one gains the impression that the manuscripts had originally been hastily deposited and that Wang had left most of them undisturbed. It would seem that they had been placed in the cave as protection from invaders.

Just as the exact date of the discovery of the manuscripts remains unknown, so does that of the sealing up of the cave. Most authorities agree, however, that the manuscripts were sealed up around the time of the Tangut (Hsi-hsia 西夏) invasions in 1035 or 1036.[20] The last dated manuscripts are from before the beginning of the eleventh century. And, even though the Tanguts occupied Tun-huang for many years, not a single manuscript among those discovered there is written in the *Hsi-hsia* language. At the other end of the scale, the earliest dated manuscript is from the year 406.[21] The caves themselves were not begun until after the middle of the fourth century.[22]

Estimates of the total number of extant Tun-huang manuscripts range between twenty and forty thousand. It is fruitless to attempt at this time an accurate accounting because we still do not know the extent and provenance of the Russian holdings. According to Men'shikov,[23] there are between 10,000 and 12,000 Tun-huang manuscripts in Russia that were recovered by S.F. Ol'denburg. But this figure seems rather high and is inflated by materials from other places in Central Asia and by the separation of individual manuscripts into several parts. At any rate, since a complete catalog of the Russian holdings has never been published in any language, it is still difficult to describe their precise nature and quantity.[24] And the more than 8,000 manuscripts left in China are still inadequately cataloged.[25] The difficulty in determining the total number of manuscripts is also compounded by the fact that, in many

instances, what was once a single scroll has somehow become disjoined so that one portion might be in England, say, and another in China.

For social and literary historians, the most significant manuscripts found at Tun-huang are not official government documents nor are they precious scriptures (although these too were found in great numbers). They are notes, jottings, scribblings, contracts, lists, some records of petty bureaucrats and records relating to the operation of monasteries and temples, circular notices of clubs, memoranda, copies of vernacular and classical literature, elementary text-books, dream divination manuals, etc.[26] A single scroll might be composed of various scraps of paper pasted together and could thus include passages from sūtras, memoranda, songs, and so forth. The fact that many of the manuscripts have to do with inconsequential matters makes them all the more important to us now because of the rare glimpse they afford of the daily life of the common man in China during the T'ang and the Five Dynasties periods.

Of all the invaluable materials discovered at Tun-huang, the most deserving of study by students of popular literature is a group that may be designated as representing the genre which is called "transformation texts" (pien-wen). In the three-quarters of a century since their discovery by Stein and Pelliot and their introduction to the scholarly world by Kano Naoki,[27] the vicissitudes of transformation texts have been manifold. Physically they have been dispersed throughout the world, which makes it somewhat difficult to study them as a coherent body of materials. But even more trying than the physical separation of the manuscripts is the disconcerting lack of consensus among students of Chinese literature about the exact nature and significance of these texts. The chief purposes of this book are, first, to define the genre together with its history, and, secondly, to describe the corpus.

Chapter Two The Meaning of the Term pien-wen

The meaning of the term pien-wen has remained one of the most refractory problems in the study of Chinese literature. There are almost as many definitions of the term as there are scholars studying the subject. This has led to enormous difficulties that stand in the way of all efforts to delineate the early history of Chinese popular literature. One of the main reasons for this terminological morass has been the tendency of scholars to include in the category pien-wen many other genres of popular literature simply because they were discovered at Tun-huang. This is to ignore the fact that there was a rich variety of literary forms current at Tun-huang during the T'ang and Five Dynasties periods. It serves no worthwhile purpose to lump them all together under the heading pien-wen, just as it would not make good sense to call all of the paintings from Tun-huang pien-hsiang 變相. Indeed, the term pien-wen points to an even more specific and identifiable corpus than does pien-hsiang. The challenge we face is to discover, by observation, the identifying characteristics of pien-wen that will allow us to distinguish it from other genres of Tun-huang popular literature. Before this is done, and so long as the nomenclature for various Tun-huang literary genres remains in such utter chaos, it will be impossible to discuss meaningfully their interrelationships. The disastrous consequences for Ch'en Kuo-ning's analysis,[1] for example, can be imagined when he posits ya-tso-wen 押座文, yüan-ch'i 緣起, etc. as types of pien-wen!

The situation in which scholars of Tun-huang literature find themselves is one where there is not even a modicum of consensus on the basic issue of how many extant transformation texts there are. Jen Erh-pei[2] speaks of there being close to 100 pien-wen. Kanaoka Shōkō says that there are 100 to 130, Chou Shao-liang 127.[3] In their prefatory notes to T (敍例, p. 1), the editors state that they consider Record of Researches into Spirits 搜神記[4] and Biographies of Filial Sons 孝子傳 to contain basic material for pien-wen. This implies that they hold the other 177 manuscripts

collected in T under 76 titles to be, in some sense, pien-wen proper. Scholars in charge of the Tun-huang holdings in Russia would add at least another twenty manuscripts to this number. Their criteria for inclusion of a manuscript under the heading pien-wen appear to be approximately the same as those of the T editors — what I refer to below as a "broad definition." After reading the published descriptions[5] and examining the Russian holdings in Leningrad, I am not convinced that any of them are entitled to be called pien-wen according to the standards of definition I propose. One scholar recently mentioned[6] that there are 8,102 pien-wen in the British Museum alone! He has obviously defined pien-wen as "any document recovered from Tun-huang." A definition of this nature allows for such undiscriminatingly broad inclusion that it is unusable and, hence, meaningless. Until this sort of fundamental issue is clarified — viz. whether there are 80 or 800 or 8000 pien-wen — rational discourse on the subject is well-nigh impossible.

Probably the first scholar to declare his dissatisfaction with the terminological morass into which pien-wen had sunk so deeply was Umezu Jirō in 1955.[7] Although he was severely handicapped by the paucity of published materials when he began his studies, Umezu nonetheless managed to make a number of valuable contributions to Tun-huang studies, chief among them his insistence that no untitled Tun-huang text should be designated a pien-wen unless it displayed certain basic features such as an obvious relationship to pictures. A little more than ten years before, Hsiang Ta, in his "T'ang-tai su-chiang k'ao [An Examination of the Popular Literature of the T'ang Period]," had already distinguished the basic features of chiang-ching-wen 講經文 and had clearly seen that pien-wen and ya-tso-wen should be viewed as separate entities. Unfortunately, this auspicious beginning seems to have gone unheeded during the intervening years.

More recently, however, scholars have shown an increasingly acute awareness of the problem. Among others, Chou Shao-liang has made a plea for clearer delineations of the various genres of popular literature during the T'ang period.[8]

He maintains,[9] for example, that the Tun-huang story of Wu Tzu-hsü should not be considered a pien-wen. Though his reasoning differs from my own objections to designating that and similar stories as pien-wen, I agree with him wholeheartedly in decrying the imprecision with which stories are often fitted to genres. Hrdličkova, too, has noted this deficiency: "Above all, it has not yet been laid down with precision which of the large body of Tun-huang texts can really be called pien-wen, nor has the exact and exhaustive definition of this literary genre been so far formulated."[10]

Chiang Po-ch'ien takes the extreme position that we have no way of knowing what pien-wen means nor do we have the information to determine whether it was a commonly recognized term during the T'ang and Five Dynasties periods.[11] The situation is not quite so hopeless as that, but Chiang's cautionary attitude is welcome in the face of the usual loose application of the term.

There is no point in reviewing systematically all the various scholarly views on the meaning of the word pien because this has already been done expertly by Kanaoka[12] and Hrdličkova.[13] But, in order to reveal certain currently held misconceptions concerning the nature of transformation texts, I shall refer to representative opinions.

Among the more common explanations of the meaning of pien is that it has to do with the change from prose to prosimetric form.[14] The most that can be said for such an explanation is that it is simple, but it is also simplistic. A more bizarre explanation belonging to the same school is Yang Chia-lo's assertion that "Because it was changed (變) from oral to written (文字), it was therefore called a 'changed text' (變文)."[15] Chou Shao-liang also subscribes to the view that pien-wen got its name because it refers to a "change" from one literary form (e.g. Buddhist sūtras or historical records) to another (the prosimetric).[16] Kuan Te-tung holds that these texts are called pien-wen because the original sūtras have been changed into popular lectures.[17] Similarly, according to Kuan, pien-hsiang are sūtras that have been turned into paintings.

This brings us to the most frequently encountered explanation of pien-wen — that it means "popularization." Cheng Chen-to was the first to propose such an interpretation. In his Illustrated History of Chinese Literature, Cheng held that "pien-wen means almost the same as yen-i 演義 ('extended interpretation,' 'historical romance'). That is to say, classical stories were retold and transformed 變化 to make them more easily understood by the people."[18] This is but a rewording of Cheng's earlier interpretation of pien as pien-keng 變更.[19] As a corollary, pien-hsiang would be a form for popularizing the sūtras by changing them into pictures. Elsewhere,[20] Cheng seems to be saying something quite different when he declares that pien-wen is the proper designation for the alternating style and that sūtra lectures (chiang-ching-wen) are a sub-category of it.

Cheng's views have been adopted by the majority of students who have written on the subject.[21] The chaos which such an explanation can lead to is evident in Shih Wei-liang's statement that "'Pien-wen' is for the purpose of popularizing the Buddhist sūtras and changing (pien) them into popular lectures (su-chiang 俗講); this is the definition of the word pien."[22] Pien-wen and su-chiang are two separate entities; it is difficult to see how one could have become a part of the other.

Because it is too vague and philologically unsound, Wang P'ei-lun's explanation[23] that pien-wen are called such because they "evolved" (yen-pien 演變) out of the sūtras similarly cannot be accepted. A related (but ultimately incomprehensible) view is held by Ku Huai who says that pien-wen means "the altered form of a text" (文的變體).[24]

Eichhorn suggested that the name pien-wen "may derive from the fact that they are made up of alternating verse and prose."[25] But this is impossible because pien by itself never means "alternating."

One of the more incoherent disquisitions on the meaning of our troublesome little term is Lai Ming's:

> "Pien wen" means etymologically "illustrative text." Pien as used here means change, the opposite of chang [sic ⟶ ch'ang] which means constant. When the meaning of the unchangeable (basic) texts of Buddhist sutras needed to be explained to the uninitiated, different illustrative texts were developed. Pictures were also used for the same purpose, and these were called pien hsien [sic ⟶ hsiang] or "illustrative pictures."[26]

It is difficult to fathom how one and the same word can mean both "illustrative" and "change." That "pien-wen" etymologically means "illustrative text"[27] is quite beyond my ken.

Eugene Eoyang, considering the "change" or "transformation" to have taken place in exactly the opposite direction from Yang Chia-lo, refers to pien-wen as an "oralization" of a written tale.[28] But neither the views of Yang nor Eoyang can be sustained for they have no firm philological basis.

Kaji Tetsujō makes the far-fetched claim that pien ultimately refers to the change of Indian Buddhist artistic models into Chinese ones.[29] This causes him to assert that pien originally arose in the Northern Wei, a claim for which there is no substantiation whatsoever.[30]

Falling into what I would call the "evasive school" of explanation are those who translate pien-wen into a foreign language but, in doing so, fail to illuminate it accurately. Ch'en Shou-yi says that "technically the Chinese term means literally, 'changed composition or writing,' indicating a slight deviation in the telling of a story from the version recorded in a Buddhist sutra."[31] Ch'en also referred to pien-wen as "revised versions."[32] And Gerty Kallgren says that "These T'ang texts are so-called pien-wen; «changed texts,» i.e. literary texts rendered in the colloquial language."[33]

One of the most novel attempts to explain the meaning of pien-wen is Lo Tsung-t'ao's assertion[34] that it is derived from a Six Dynasties technical term in music and in poetics that may be rendered roughly as "variation" or "modification."[35]

Lo's professed intention in propounding this ingenious explanation is to find a Chinese source for the word. But there are several flaws in his argument, among them the fact that even the musical term cannot be certified to be free of Indian influence. At the least, we must admit that its origins are not well known. Secondly, Lo fails to make any convincing connection between pien-ko 變歌 ("modified song") and pien-wen other than that they happen to have the same morpheme in their names. Chou I-liang has demonstrated the historical improbability of any connection between these pien-ko in the ballad tradition and pien-wen.[36] Tseng Yung-i has further demolished Lo's argument in a helpfully critical article to which I refer the reader.[37]

Hsiang Ta had earlier made a suggestion similar to Lo Tsung-t'ao's though not with such conviction.[38] All of the poems and ballads which Hsiang cites in support of his suggestion use the word pien in a musical sense (e.g. the "Tzu-yeh Variation" 子夜變 and the "Joyful Hearing Variation" 歡聞變 preserved in the Collection of Ballad Poetry [Yüeh-fu shih-chi 樂府詩集]). Yet they bear no resemblance, neither in content nor in structure, to any of the known pien-wen. Most of the specific pieces Hsiang refers to are actually nothing more than pentasyllabic quatrains. It is difficult to see how there can be any significant evolutionary relationship between these Six Dynasties "variations" and the T'ang period Buddhist pien-wen.

On the basis of one newly proffered bit of evidence, two Soviet scholars have recently once again argued for a purely Chinese meaning for the term pien-wen.[39] They cite Kuo P'u's 郭璞 (276-324) gloss on the word chü-hsü as it is found in Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju's 司馬相如 (c. 179-117 B.I.E.) "Rhymeprose on the Imperial Hunt" 天子游獵賦. The gloss reads: 距虛即蜿蜒，變文互言耳. But surely this usage has no bearing whasoever on the expression pien-wen as it is employed in the titles of T'ang period popular literary texts. N. Egami's serviceable translation

should be adequate to establish that the characters as used in Kuo P'u's gloss are functioning in a quite different manner: "The chü-hsü is identical with the ch'iung-ch'iung, these being different phrases and words used interchangeably."[40] To force Kuo P'u's usage to function as the name of a genre results in unintelligible gibberish. As I shall demonstrate below, only when the Buddhist nuances of pien are taken into account can we make full sense of the expressions pien-wen and pien-hsiang.

Sawada Mizuho maintained that pien had something to do with Jātaka stories, that is, stories of the Buddha's former lives.[41] His reasoning was that the Buddha had experienced many changes in his former existence. This is a case of a justifiable connection being made but an unacceptable explanation of the meaning of the word pien being given.

It has been fashionable, both in French and in English,[42] to refer to pien-wen as "chantefables." The sole advantage of such a designation is that it indicates the form of such pieces. But the disadvantages are legion. In the first place, there are numerous other genres than pien-wen in Chinese literature which might qualify to be called "chantefables" on structural grounds. Secondly, the French word properly refers to a unique specimen, "Aucassin et Nicolette," although students of comparative literature have used the expression to designate any work that alternates between verse and prose. Thirdly, the word "chantefable" expresses nothing of the semantic content of pien. And fourthly, it fails to convey any idea of the place in the evolution of literary genres occupied by pien-wen.

H.C. Chang referred to pien-wen as "monastery chants and recitations."[43] This is an inaccurate description because it links these texts too closely to religious establishments. Shao Hung called them "Buddhist narrative poems"[44] but this is surely wrong because they are not poems.

Even such an eminent and careful scholar as Jao Tsung-i has been entrapped by the legacy of vague terminology in Tun-huang literary studies when he says that "pien-wen are also called 'lyric texts,' as for example 'The Lyric Text

on Chi Pu Cursing in Front of the Ranks in the Third Year of the Great Han Dynasty.'"[45] 大漢三年季布罵陣詞文. There does, indeed, exist a series of texts[46] on this theme, some of which do bear titles similar to but slightly longer than that given by Jao, and some of which are in booklet form. But the story is told entirely in heptasyllabic verse. The only conceivable reason I can proffer on behalf of Jao's identification of pien-wen and tz'u-wen is that some texts bearing the latter designation were included in the Tun-huang pien-wen chi. Beyond that I can imagine no justification for the identification. And I say this even though the last two verses constitute good evidence that this lyric text did derive from some sort of oral presentation:

> If you are talking about achieving high position through cursing in front of the ranks,
> Throughout the past, there is only one man who has done it;
> The whole story has been written up in the History of the Han Dynasty,
> Don't say that the lyricist has sung it untruly![47]

Incidentally, these verses also serve as valuable evidence that at least some of the Tun-huang popular literature was written with an awareness of and, in this instance, perhaps even by consultation in classical texts.

Waley's rendering of pien-wen as "incident-text"[48] is inadequate because it conveys next to nothing of the strong Buddhist connotations of the term. It is also somewhat misleading because it implies that each text centers on a single incident whereas, in fact, it is more accurate to say that these texts generally narrate a series of discrete "incidents" or episodes.

Pelliot's opinion on the matter of the meaning of pien-wen is worth citing in its entirety for its air of caution and uncertainty:

> I doubt that pien-wen is 'altered texts.' Cf. the

> meaning of pien and pien-hsiang for the 'scenes' illustrating episodes of Buddhist sutras, and the Japanese use of the term hengō [?]. The Buddhist use is the most ancient one, and may apply to 'episodes' as a transitory aspect of a permanent truth. But I am not prepared to express any positive view on the point. In literature, could not pien have finally come to mean the literary form of the tale, a mixture of written and popular language, or of prose and verse? 'Altered' seems to be misleading. Could not 'changing text' be adopted?[49]

It appears that Pelliot was on the same path of exegesis as those who erroneously interpret pien to mean "alternating [between prose and verse portions]."

De Visser translated Jōdo hensō 淨土變相 as "Phases of (Amitābha's) Pure Land."[50] More recently, Crump has referred to pien in titles as "episodes" and pien-wen as "episode texts."[51] These two renderings do provide some indication of the narrative nature of the paintings and texts concerned but fail to convey the actual semantic content of pien.

Yü Chien-hua, in his annotations to A Record of Famous Painters of Successive Dynasties, says that "To paint a story from the Buddhist sūtras as a picture is called pien."[52] This definition is correct insofar as it goes, but it does not really explain the meaning of pien, only its usage in a vague, artistic sense. More exact is Acker's commentary on the same text:

> The terms piēn 變, piēn-hsiáng 變相, chīng-piēn 經變 all refer to paintings illustrating the paradises of particular Buddhas, particular hells, or as in the case of Vimalakīrti some particular incident or happening described in a sūtra, all this in contradistinction to the esoteric maṇḍala which is a sort of representation of the whole universe, its various Buddhas and divinities symbolizing different aspects

of existence.[53]

As we shall see, this is in fundamental agreement with my notion that a pien is the representation (whether verbal or pictorial or sculptural) of a narrative moment or locus or a succession of narrative moments or loci.

So far as it goes, Chou I-liang's formulation that "a pien-wen is the text for a pien-hsiang"[54] is a correct explanation. But it does not indicate that there is a distinction between oral pien and written pien-wen. Nor does this type of circular formulation indicate anything of the Buddhist antecedents of the word pien itself.

I consider one of the most convincing interpretations of pien-wen to date to be Paul Demiéville's rendering of pien as "scene." This interpretation has the marvelous advantage of being directly applicable both to pien-wen ("text of a scene") and to pien-hsiang ("figure[s] of a scene"),[55] a mandatory requirement for any explanation of the word. Demiéville's rendering is also highly visual in its semantic content, which fits both pien-wen and pien-hsiang perfectly. The only defect to this rendering is that it does not convey the necessary Buddhist resonance that it should.

A Uighur scholar, von Gabain, holds that pien-wen and pien-hsiang have a Central Asian origin (we shall see later that there is some validity to this claim). She accurately renders the two terms in German as Verwandlungsgeschichten and Darstellung der Verwandlungen.[56]

Ono Genmyo, more than sixty years ago, had already provided a valuable discussion[57] of the meaning of pien in relation to art. It would appear that few later scholars consulted his work.

Naba Toshisada was probably the first to declare[58] that pien (more frequently) or pien-wen were the records of expanded expositions of paintings which were sung and spoken. This discovery represented a tremendous breakthrough in pien-wen studies for, as we shall see below in chapters four, six, and seven, it is impossible to understand the true nature of transformations without recognizing their essential relation-

ship to pictures. It was Umezu Jirō who established this relationship irrefutably and gave it a theoretical underpinning. His explanation of pien as a Buddhist technical term meaning "a story as shown in some concrete form like a picture"[59] has approximately the same strengths and weaknesses as Demiéville's. Shih Chih-ts'un 施蟄存 was also headed in the right direction when he said[60] that pien means "Chinese (?) painting" 國畫 and that it must be a transcription of some foreign word.

One way to think of the term pien-wen is that it is an abbreviation of pien-hsiang chih wen 變相之文 ([explanatory] text for a transformation tableau").[61] This is helpfully suggestive because it highlights the crucial relationship between pien-wen and pien-hsiang. But it is an inadequate interpretation for two major reasons: the definition pien-hsiang chih wen is not attested in contemporaneous sources, and it is not provable that any of the extant pien-wen were ever intended for use in the oral explanation of pien-hsiang. The available evidence indicates that they were primarily intended for private reading. The relationship between pien-wen and pien-hsiang, as we shall see, is far more complicated than that expressed by the formulation pien-hsiang chih wen.

To retreat one step further, according to Mochizuki,[62] pien-hsiang means pien-hsien chih hsiang 變現之相 ("the appearance of manifestation through transformation").[63] While I have not seen it so defined in T'ang texts, this is a useful way of approaching the term. The Sanskrit equivalent of pien-hsiang in its original sense ("transformational appearance") is viparinata (Tibetan rnam par gyur ba). Pien-hsiang in the sense of "[artistic] representation of [a supernatural] transformation" is a derivative and more specialized application.

In the opening pages[64] of his artide entitled "Miscellaneous Notes from Reading pien-wen," Sun K'ai-ti assembled an impressive array of occurrences (dating mostly from the Six Dynasties through the Sung) of the word pien where it clearly meant "strange, unusual, extraordinary." He concluded

that this was the sense of the word in the terms pien-wen and pien-hsiang. James Liu followed Sun in translating pien-wen as "texts of (tales of) the unusual."[65] Liu Ta-chieh has a similar understanding of the term. "Pien-wen," he states, is also abbreviated as pien. Pien means 'strange'; pien-wen thus means the prosimetric recitation of a strange story."[66]

Many strange incidents mentioned in the Buddhist collection of stories called Pearl Grove in the Garden of Dharma (Fa-yüan chu-lin 法苑珠林) are referred to as such and such a "[miraculous] transformation" (pien 變, pien-hua 變化, or shen-pien 神變).[67] Some of these events were taken from earlier collections such as the Records of Researches into Spirits (Sou-shen chi 搜神記) but were not there regularly designated as pien. Since Pearl Grove in the Garden of Dharma was compiled by Tao-shih 道世 in 668, my impression is that around the beginning of the T'ang Chinese were becoming increasingly familiar and comfortable with using the word pien in the sense of "strange incident" (more specifically, "supernatural transformation").

One is compelled to acknowledge that pien in the sense of "strange" is a post-Buddhist usage, that is, one which is not encountered until after the entry of Buddhism into China.[68] But more thorough analysis is required before we may declare that pien-wen simply means "strange text" or pien-hsiang "strange appearance" with no stronger Buddhistic overtones.

It is necessary to recognize, in the first instance, that pien in the sense of "unusual" or "strange" is itself an extension of the word in its Buddhist technical sense of "transformation." To lay Chinese unfamiliar with the finer points of technical usage but familiar with basic Buddhist concepts that had been widely disseminated throughout the populace by the middle of the Six Dynasties, it is understandable that supernatural "transformation" or "transmutation" (nirmāṇa, pariṇāma, vikāra, vikṛti, etc.) might be interpreted as something "strange." This is especially true considering the widely differing philosophical presuppositions which existed in pre-Buddhist China and in India.[69] In Buddhist philosophy, pien may mean the actualization or

realization of cognition, hence creative mentation in the most concrete possible sense or even conjuration. We create the world as we are perceiving it: confronted with such an alien conception, it is not at all surprising that many Chinese found it "strange." The T'ang Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks 續高僧傳 has a curious story about ghosts "producing various transformatinns" 作諸變現 during the Liang period (502-556). It also refers to their manifestations as "strange transformations" 怪變 .[70]

Before the introduction of Buddhism, the word pien in the classical Chinese language meant "change," "evolution," "movement," "modification," "alteration," "variation," and, as derivatives of one or another of these meanings, "incident," "disturbance," "eclipse," "rebellion," etc.[71] It was only after the introduction of Buddhism to China that the character also took on the added meaning of "(supernatural) transformation" and the secondarily derived notion of "strange (event)." Let us examine, now, something of the history of the word pien, in order to see how it was adapted to suit the purposes of Buddhism.

The character pien appears not to have been found on oracle bone inscriptions or bronze inscriptions, hence it is of relatively late invention. "The meaning of the drawing is uncertain, but it contains two hanks of silk and Hsü Shen [許愼 , in his etymological dictionary, Shuo-wen chieh-tzu 說文解字] said that it meant 'to bring into order', as in spinning or reeling. The radical, placed below, shows a hand holding a stick, signifying movement, action."[72] Hsü Shen's explanation is most curious since one of the meanings of the character is "disorder" [i.e. "change from the norm"]. It is futile, however, to attempt to gain an understanding of the etymology of this character from its shape in the stone inscriptions where it first appears. For, both then and now, the top part of the character has a primarily phonetic value.

In pre-Buddhist usage, according to Manfred Porkert,

Hua 化 denotes a fundamental and essential change —

a transformation. However, sometimes one also encounters the word pien, denoting external, momentary, or apparent change. A locus classicus for this distinction is in the Kuan-tzu 管子 49/270:[73] "The exemplary man (sheng-jen) changes (pien) in accordance with the times without transforming [the essence of his being]." 聖人與時變而不化. This in turn permits us to understand the passage in the Huang-ti nei-ching su-wen 黃帝內經素問 66/583:[74] "When the beings take rise (sheng...), this is called hua (transformation); when the beings have reached their full development (in Chinese chi 極 : "to arrive at the ridge or summit") [and consequently have taken on a different appearance], this is called pien (change)." 物生謂之化，物極謂之變. The terms pien and hua seem to suggest the idea of complementary antonyms. In the passage of the Su-wen 66/583 just quoted above where yin and yang are called the father and mother of change and transformation (pien-hua), the compound pien-hua may be understood as a composite of synonyms and therefore be translated by "changes"; yet, on the other hand, the parallelism between yin/yang and pien/hua shows that pien and hua can be conceived as the two aspects of an action polarized in turn — pien as its iterative, active, hua as its perfective, structive aspect.[75]

Joseph Needham also has a long and helpful disquisition[76] on "Change, Transformation, and Relativity." It is evident, as Needham says, that "there is no strict frontier between the words."

In certain cases, it is necessary to render pre-Buddhist pien as "transform(ation)." For example, in the Book of Change, we read

> Thus water and fire contribute together to the one object; thunder and wind do not act contrary to each other; mountains and collections of water interchange their influences. It is in this way, that they are

> able to change and transform, and to give completion to all things.[77]

Yet in no case of which I am aware does the pre-Buddhist concept of pien mean or imply "transformation from nothing to something." Nor have I ever encountered it in the sense of "magically creative power to conjure." It refers rather to changes from one state of being or matter to another; a thing becomes some other thing. The pre-Buddhist pien never implies a discontinuity or break with reality (illusion) which is the very essence of nirmāṇa.

Even where we are dealing in classical Chinese contexts with change from one state to another, there is always an evolutionary continuity as in this famous passage from the Chuang-tzu:

> The seeds of things have mysterious workings. In the water they become 為 Break Vine, on the edges of the water they become Frog's Robe. If they sprout on the slopes they become Hill Slippers. If Hill Slippers get rich soil, they turn into 為 Crow's Feet. The roots of Crow's Feet turn into maggots and their leaves turn into butterflies. Before long the butterflies are transformed 化 and turn into insects that live under the stove; they look like snakes and their name is Ch'ü-t'o. After a thousand days, the Ch'ü-t'o insects become birds called Dried Leftover Bones. The saliva of the Dried Leftover Bones becomes Ssu-mi bugs and the Ssu-mi bugs become Vinegar Eaters. I-lo bugs are born 生 from the Vinegar Eaters, and Huang-shuang bugs from Chiu-yu bugs. Chiu-yu bugs are born from Mou-jui bugs and Mou-jui bugs are born from Rot Grubs and Rot Grubs are born from Sheep's Groom. Sheep's Groom couples with bamboo that has not sprouted for a long while and produces 生 Green Peace plants. Green Peace plants produce leobards and leopards produce horses and horses produce men. Men in time return again to the mysterious workings. So all creatures

> come out of the mysterious workings and go back into them again.[78]

On the other hand, the post-Buddhist neo-Confucians had a clear conception of discontinuities in the process of change. There is no mistaking Chu Hsi's understanding of the difference between pien and hua because he repeats it so many times. Hua is change viewed from an evolutionary point of view; pien is change seen from a transformational vantage.[79]

If it is impossible to find pien in classical, pre-Buddhist texts with the meaning that it carries in the terms pien-wen and pien-hsiang, we must turn to examine Buddhist sources directly to see whether there is any appropriate usage which might help to explain its semantic content. Although he has not revealed the sources for his confident conviction, Liu Ts'un-yan has stated that he knows "for certain that the Chinese character 變 (pien) in the term 變文 (pien-wên) originally meant shên-pien 神變 or supernatural powers as exhibited in awe-inspiring miracles."[80] While one cannot take exception to Liu's statement, it would have been helpful had he substantiated it more fully. This identification of pien with the obviously Buddhist shen-pien has led Kenneth Ch'en to call pien-wen "texts of marvelous events"[81] (probably a rendering into English of 神變之文). Lili Ch'en, likewise, is largely correct when she defines pien-wen as "a narrative depicting the marvelous incident of...."[82] Waley, too, may once have entertained such an interpretation when he referred[83] to pien-wen as "wonder-writings." And Průšek seems to subscribe to such a view when he renders pien-wen as "texts relating strange incidents."[84]

Chou Shao-liang[85] and Chou I-liang[86] have also recognized that the pien of pien-wen means shen-pien ("miraculous transformation"). In the words of Chou Shao-liang: "Pien-wen' take stories dealing with miraculous transformations 神變 from the Buddhist sūtras and elaborate them into written works for the purpose of guiding the common people and converting the masses."[87] Chou goes on to say that, when one takes a miraculous transformational event from the story and

makes it into a picture, it is called pien-hsiang, and when it is expressed in literary form, it is called pien-wen. As for the non-Buddhist stories among the pien-wen, says Chou, their form is the same as that of the Buddhist pien-wen because they are modeled on them. This analysis is essentially correct, with the proviso that the sources of the "miraculous transformations" were not necessarily restricted to the fixed corpus of Buddhist texts but were also sometimes witnessed during individual religious experience. More specifically, Fu Yün-tzu connects[88] pien with the "miraculous transformations" used by the Buddha in preaching the law (說法 [dhārmi kathā] 神變) that are so often mentioned in the sūtras.

Shen-pien may be used to render Sanskrit prātihārya ("sham, illusion, delusion, magic, jugglery, sorcery"),[89] ṛddhi ("supernatural or magic power"),[90] vikurvaṇa ("the ability to assume various shapes"),[91] etc. Also note 神變示導 ṛddhi-prātihārya and 神變相 mahā-nimittaṃ-prātihāryaṃ. Closely allied expressions in Chinese Buddhist terminology include:

神通	ṛddhi, ṛddhi-sampad, abhijñā ("supernatural knowledge");
神通力	vikurvā, vikurvaṇa(-prātihārya), nirmita-adhiṣṭhāna-abhisamaya, ṛddhi-bala [BHS], ṛddhyānubhāvena ("by means of miraculous power");
神通變化 變化神通	ṛddhi-vikurvita, vikurvāna; nirmāṇa-ṛddhi ("supernatural power of transformation," Cf. T [3] 1.157a).[92]

Regardless of their knowledge of the various Sanskrit antecedents which have become compressed in this term, it is clear enough what Chinese Buddhists meant by shen-pien. Basically, it is a miraculous transformation (i.e. appearance or manifestation) performed by a Buddha or Bodhisattva for the edification of sentient beings. Not only is the transformation in and of itself an impressive display of the abilities of the enlightened one who performs it and hence an effective

device to encourage those who witness it to be receptive to his teachings, but for those whose wisdom is sufficiently advanced, it is also a none too subtle affirmation of the illusory nature of all existence. If the enlightened one can so effortlessly produce such marvelous — but insubstantial — entities, there are profound ontological implications which, being directly perceived, need not be expressed verbally.

A very common trick for one possessed of such supernatural powers is to rise up into space and hover there while causing water and fire to issue from his body. This is exactly what Śāriputra does in the "Transformation Text on the Subduing of Demons" after his defeat of Raudrākṣa. These powers also enable their possessor to cause flowers to rain down, the earth to shake, lightening to flash, distant places to be illumined, and so on. The executor of shen-pien can also change his own person into an infinite number of beings, as does Monkey in his battles with the Heavenly Hosts in Journey to the West. It should, too, be mentioned that most of these activities are things which shamans do in performance. This will be of importance later when we discuss the social position and identity of those who were pien performers.

The motif of rising up into space and manifesting various (usually eighteen) manifestations is frequently met with in Buddhist literature. For example, in the Aśokarājasūtra (?) 阿育王經,[93] we read the following: "Using his miraculous strength,[94] like a goose-king[95] flying up into space, in an instant the monk then rose up out of the iron cauldron into space and manifested the eighteen transformations." And, in the Svāgata story as told in Divyāvadāna, reference is made to the "eighteen transformations or miraculous powers" 十八變. Since these are met so frequently in Buddhist canonical texts as well as in popular literature, it is worth our while to study them in some detail in order to gain a better understanding of the Buddhist notion of transformational powers. Kenneth Ch'en has provided[96]

the Chinese equivalents and English explanations of the Sanskrit terms:

1.	kampana	振動	the ability to move any object, even the worlds
2.	jvalana	熾然	ability to emit fire from body
3.	spharana	流布	ability to emit light that can illuminate the innumerable worlds
4.	vidarśana	示現	ability to cause beings in all the gatis, Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and devas, to be seen
5.	anyathī-bhava-karaṇa	轉變	ability to change the nature of an object into something different
6.	gamanāgamana	往來	ability to go anywhere, through the walls, mountains, water, air, etc.
7.	samkṣepa	卷	ability to roll anything, even the Himālayas, into a minute size
8.	prathana	舒	ability to enlarge minute objects to gigantic proportions
9.	sarva-rūpa-kāya-pravesana	衆像入身	ability to store up swarms of people, mountains, or earth within body
10.	sabhāgato-pasankrānti	同類往趣	ability to enter any group, assume their forms, shapes, and voices, preach to them, then disappear
11.	āvirbhāva	顯	ability to magnify body a thousand-fold
12.	tirobhāva	隱	ability to disappear

13.	vaśitva-karaṇa	所作自在	ability to cause living creatures to become subject to his will
14.	para-ṛddhy-abhibhava	制他神通	ability to control the ṛddhi of those below him in rank
15.	pratibhāna-dāna	能施辯才	ability to equip sentient beings with fluency in expression
16.	smṛti-dāna	能施憶念	ability to cause one who has forgotten the dharma to remember it again
17.	sukha-dāna	能施安樂	ability to bestow joy on listeners
18.	raśmi-pramokṣana	放大光明	ability to send forth light to all creatures in all worlds

The centrality of the concept of transformational manifestation of illusory states of reality in Buddhist doctrine can be shown easily by reference to several specific passages from the Chinese Tripiṭaka. In the short Sūtra of the Former Lives of the Buddha Siṃhacandra (?) 師子月佛本生經, translated anonymously sometime between 350 and 431 I.E., there is a story[97] set in the city of Rājagṛha where Buddha is at the head of a host of bhikṣus and bodhisattvas. One of them, named Vasumitra, roams around in the bamboo grove, frolicking like an ape. He takes hold of a bell and puts on a dance-drama 作那羅(naṭa)戲. A crowd gathers to watch him which spurs him to greater heights. With an ape-like cry uttered from the top of a tree where he has climbed, he summons 84,000 golden monkeys and performs various transformational manifestations 作種種變現 for the pleasure of his assembled audience. All of this hocus-pocus is not only tolerated but is encouraged by the Buddha for it puts the crowd in a receptive mood to hear his doctrine.

The efficacy of thaumaturgy for conversion is a commonplace in Buddhist books. In the words of the Divyāvadāna,

"A magical feat quickly wins over the minds of worldlings."[98] Wonder-working is also effective in restoring the faith of errant souls. This is illustrated by the story of the king in the Lotus Sutra[99] whose two sons, Pure Treasury 淨藏 and Pure Eyes 淨眼, showed him all sorts of supernatural transformations 現種種神變 in order to pry him away from his attachment to heretical teaching.

Piety, the transformation of a deity, and art which captures it are all brought together in an anecdote which is recorded in A Buddhist Gazetteer 釋迦方志, compiled by Tao-hsüan 道宣 (596-667), founder of the Vinaya sect: "Of old, there were two poor men, each of whom donated one piece of gold toward the painting of an image of the Buddha. They requested the appearance of a supernatural transformation (請現神變), whereupon the image appeared with the body divided in two above the chest and joined as one below."[100]

A modern devotee has described his experience of witnessing the appearance of Kuan-yin thus:

> As though to illustrate the truth of divinity with innumerable aspects, the Bodhisattva startled me by manifesting herself in a veritable whirl of transformations, appearing now as Avalokita with eleven heads, now as the mirror-bearing, many-armed Chên-T'i, now as the horse-headed Hayagrīva, now as Tara, now as a terrifying wrathful-seeming deity not unlike Yamantaka, the blue, bull-headed Conqueror of Death, now as the handsome youth Manjusri — all of these alternating with many unnameable forms, male and female, horrendous and sublime, one merging into another like the changing patterns in a child's kaleidoscope![101]

The optical simile is particularly noteworthy.

There can be no doubt that one of the meanings of pien is "conjuration through transformation." Even today, pien hsi-fa 變戲法 is a common way to refer to the performance of magic.[102] In the Śākyamuni Geneology 釋迦譜, it is

said of a tree that has been conjured up, "This transformation (pien) was done/made by Raudrākṣa." 此變乃是勞度差作.[103] It is highly significant that similar language appears in the "Transformation Text on the Subduing of Demons."[104] It is, further, demonstrable that pien in such contexts stands for shen-pien. In a passage from the Pearl Grove in the Garden of Dharma (Fa-yüan chu-lin 法苑珠林) dealing with the same matter (that of conjuration) in the very same story, we read: "Then Śāriputra and Raudrākṣa each manifested supernatural transformations" 各現神變.[105] The received Chinese Buddhist meaning of pien operative in such cases is "to make something appear" or "to produce one thing from another." Compare the cognate expressions 變作,[106] 變化, 變現,[107] etc.

The building of the Jetavana garden and the contest of supernatural powers between Śāriputra and Raudrākṣa, the subject of the illustrated transformation scroll P4524, is one of the most frequently depicted in Tun-huang wall paintings.[108] The oldest of these is in cave 9 of the Western Caves of the Thousand Buddhas 西千佛洞 and dates from the mid-sixth century. It also occurs at the nearby Cliffs of the Ten Thousand Buddhas 萬佛峽,[109] which date from the ninth or tenth century or perhaps a little later.[110] The canonical sources for the contest — none of which are in Pāli — are to be found in the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya-saṅghabhedakavastu 根本說一切有部毗奈耶破僧事 (T[1450]24.141aff), the Mahā-sammata-sūtra 衆許摩訶帝經 (T[191]3.968ab), and the Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish 賢愚經 (T[202]4.418b-420c). Comparison of the sources with the account as depicted in Tun-huang art and popular literature reveal that a certain amount of adaptation and expansion has occurred in the latter.[111]

In the story of the magic contest between Śāriputra and Raudrākṣa as given in the Mahā-sammata-sūtra, the heretics declare, "We shall display our [ubiquitous] supernatural powers" 我現神通.[112] This indicates a kind of loose equivalence between shen-pien and shen-t'ung 神通.

A better understanding of the Buddhist meaning of pien as "conjuration," "illusory appearance," etc. can be gained from the following extended passage taken from the Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish:

> Among the Six Heterodox Teachers, there was a disciple named Raudrākṣa who was well versed in the techniques of illusion 幻術. With an incantation,[113] he created 呪作 before the great crowd a tree that, of itself, grew to large size. Its shade covered the assembly; its branches and leaves were luxuriant; its flowers and fruits were extraordinary. The crowd of people all said, "This transformation 變 was created 作 by Raudrākṣa!" Then Śāriputra, by means of his supernatural power, created 以神通力作 a whirlwind which blew so hard that it uprooted the tree. The tree toppled to the ground and smashed into tiny pieces of dust. The crowd of people all said, "Śāriputra's the winner! This time, Raudrākṣa was no match for him."
>
> Again, with an incantation, he created a pond. On all four sides of the pond were the seven types of jewels.[114] In the middle of the water were growing all sorts of flowers. The crowd of people all said, "This is Raudrākṣa's creation 所作!" Then Śāriputra magically created 化作 a great six-tusked white elephant. On each of its tusks there were seven lotus blossoms and on each blossom was a jade girl. The elephant slowly ambled over to the side of the pond and drew all the water into its mouth causing the pond to disappear at once. The crowd of people all said, "Śāriputra's the winner! Raudrākṣa's no match for him!"
>
> Again he created 作 a mountain decorated with the seven types of jewels. On it, there were springs and ponds, as well as trees and bushes full of flowers and fruit. The crowd of people all said, "This is Raudrākṣa's creation 作." Śāriputra then immediately magically created 化作 a guardian spirit of

irresistable strength. With his adamantine mace,[115] the spirit pointed at the mountain from afar and it was destroyed at once, leaving not a trace. Everyone in the assembly said, "Śāriputra's the winner. Raudrākṣa's no match for him."

Again, he created the body of a dragon which had ten heads. From space, it rained down all sorts of jewels. Thunder and lightening shook the earth, startling the great crowd. The crowd of people said, "This too is Raudrākṣa's creation 作 !" Śāriputra then magically created a golden-winged king of birds[116] which slashed, tore, and devoured it. The crowd of people all said, "Śāriputra's the winner! Raudrākṣa's no match for him!"

Again, he created a bull. Its body was tall and large; it was stout and sturdy. With its thick hoofs and sharp horns, it scraped the ground and bellowed loudly as it came racing forward. Then Śāriputra magically created a lion king which rent it to pieces and ate it. The crowd of people exclaimed, "Śāriputra's the winner! Raudrākṣa's no match for him!"

Again, he transformed his body into 變其身作 a yakṣa demon. Its size was enormous; flames shot from its head. Its eyes were as red as blood; its four teeth were long and sharp. Flames issuing from its mouth, it bounded forward. Then Śāriputra changed himself into 自化其身作 the Mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa. The yakṣa was terrified and wanted to retreat at once. Fire sprang up on all four sides so there was no place to escape. Only on Śāriputra's side it was cool and there was no fire. The yakṣa submitted right away by throwing himself on the ground in an attitude of profound reverence[117] and begging plaintively that his life be spared. As soon as he felt shame, the fire disappeared. The crowd cried out in unison, "Śāriputra's the winner! Raudrākṣa's no match for him!"

Then Śāriputra's body rose up into space and manifested the four imposing forms of demeanor in walking,

> standing, sitting, and lying. Water came forth from the upper part of his body and fire came forth from the lower part. He sank down in the east, leapt up in the west; sank down in the west, leapt up in the east. He sank down in the north, leapt up in the south; sank down in the south, leapt up in the north. Or, by manifesting 現 his major body, he filled up all space and, then again, he would manifest his minor body. Or he would divide his single body into hundreds, thousands, millions, and trillions of bodies and then once more make them into a single body. He would be in space and then suddenly on the ground. He walked on the land as though it were water and on the water as though it were land. When he finished creating 作 these transformations 變 , he returned with light steps[118] to his original seat. Then, seeing his supernatural power, the great crowd of the assembly rejoiced together. Śāriputra then began at once to discourse on the dharma.[119]

Thus we see that the wonderful transformations created by Śāriputra all serve as a prelude for religious instruction. This is a commonplace in Buddhist texts whether more popular, as here, or more sophisticated, as with the Lotus Sūtra.

The magic contest between the Tīrthyas (heretics) and Śāriputra is also described in the Saṇghabhedavastu of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. Fortunately, the Sanskrit original of the Saṇghabhedavastu does exist and we can gain some knowledge about the type of language involved in dealing with transformational manifestations. Where the Chinese translation by I-ching gives 外道化為七頭龍王. 舍利弗化為大金翅鳥. 從空飛下食龍而去. (T[1450]24.140c), the Sanskrit has tena sataśīrṣo nāgo nirmitaḥ; āyuṣmatā śāriputreṇa garuḍo nirmitaḥ, yenāsāv apahṛtaḥ.[120] The idea conveyed by both the Chinese and the Sanskrit is that the heretic conjured up a seven-headed dragon and that this was destroyed by a roc-like bird conjured up by Śāriputra. The key word in the Sanskrit account is

nirmitaḥ, which recurs repeatedly just as 化 [作/為] does in the Chinese. Nirmitaḥ is the past passive participle of nirminoti which means "creates by magic[al transformation]"[121] and goes back to the Sanskrit root √mā.[122] 化 [為/作] could mean either "created through transformation" or "transformed themselves into." The corresponding verb in the Śāriputra transformation text is hua-ch'u 化出 which I have regularly translated as "conjure up" and which literally means "transform out," i.e. "produce through transformation." It is even more important to point out that the nouns in both the Chinese canonical scripture and in the transformation text referring to the transformational products or creations of Śāriputra and Raudrākṣa are shen-pien 神變 ("spiritual transformation"), shen-t'ung pien-hsien 神通變現 ("supernatural transformational manifestation"), or simply pien.

The Buddha, deep in meditation, manifests many wonderful apparitions in preparation for preaching the Lotus Sūtra. Maitreya Bodhisattva reflects on this: "O how great a wonder does the Tathāgata display!" Mahānimittaṃ prātihāryaṃ batedaṃ tathāgatena kṛtam.[123] It is interesting to remark on how the various Chinese translators interpreted this sentence. Dharmarakṣa (c. 223-300), who translated it in the year 286 as the Cheng-fa-hua ching 正法華經, gives "Now the World-Honored has attained the true, correct understanding." 今者世尊如來至眞等正覺.[124] Kumārajiva (344-413), who translated it in the year 406 as Miao-fa lien-hua ching 妙法蓮華經, gives "Now does the World-Honored One display an appearance so marvelous."[125] 今者世尊現神變相.[126] Dharmagupta and Jñānagupta, who rendered the text into Chinese in the year 601, called it T'ien-p'in miao-fa lien-hua ching 填品妙法蓮華經 and rendered the line in question exactly as Kumārajiva did.[127] If it is possible to draw any conclusions from the chronology and comparison of these and other translations, it is that the notion of prātihārya was not easily expressible in the Chinese language until the meaning of pien had been sufficiently expanded to accommodate it.

Another passage from the Lotus Sūtra brings together

the notion of dramatic performance with that of transformational illusion and therefore deserves our closest scrutiny. The Buddha is describing to Mañjuśrī the proper conduct of a Bodhisattva-mahāsattva. There are certain types of people that he must avoid, including wrestlers, vendors or pork, poulterers, deer-hunters, butchers, actors and dancers, etc.[128] The Sanskrit compound expression for the last two types mentioned is naṭa nṛttakān[129] (from √naṭ, "to represent anything [dramatically]; perform; dance" and √nṛṭ, "to act on the stage; represent; dance about").[130] Kumārajīva renders[131] this as 那羅等種種變現之戲 which may be literally englished as "various kinds of transformational manifestation performances [put on by] naṭas [i.e. dancers/actors], etc."[132] Apparently, Kumārajīva understood nṛtta to mean something like prātihārya ("transformational appearance") for he uses pien-hsien 變現, the usual translation for the latter Sanskrit term, to render it. Even in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, acting is sometimes though to have a delusive nature. The Mahāvyutpatti (no. 2837) lists, under the heading māyādayaḥ ("such things as māyā [illusion]"), the expression naṭaraṇgaḥ. This literally means "actor-stage" but it is used as a symbol of deceptive or illusory character.[133] We read,[134] for example, in the Śikṣāsamuccaya (quoting the Sāgaramati-sūtra) that a Bodhisattva's speech should not be "fictitious" (na naṭaraṇga-vacanaḥ). Whereas naṭa and nṛtta actually mean approximately the same thing ("actors and dancers"), Kumārajīva's translation functions partly as a gloss intended to convey the implicit connotations of the Sanskrit terms and so seems to say more than the original. It is significant, none the less, that a connection has been made in a Chinese Buddhist text between transformational manifestation and dramatic performance. This has a direct bearing on the nature of Sino-Indian dramatic narrative that we shall discuss in chapter eight.

As to the use of supernatural transformations to convert infidels, there is an interesting story in the Notes on Monasteries of Loyang.[135] A Serindian merchant brings a monk named Vairocana before the King of Khotan. The monk asks

the Buddha to send his disciple Rāhula there and the latter transforms himself into the Buddha in mid-air. The King is so much impressed that he is immediately converted. He proceeds to construct a temple in which he has painted an image of Rāhula.

A passage from The Journey to the West shows how the later folk Buddhist tradition took delight in the spectacular and dazzling qualities of supernatural manifestations:

> Seeing that the demon[136] was becoming savage, Monkey now used the method called Body Outside the Body. He plucked out a handful of hairs, bit them into small pieces and then spat them out into the air, crying 'Change!' The fragments of hair changed into several hundred small monkeys, all pressing round in a throng. For you must know that when anyone becomes an Immortal, he can project his soul, change his shape and perform all kinds of miracles. Monkey, since his Illumination, could change every one of the eighty-four thousand hairs of his body into whatever he chose.[137]

In China, the Buddha's most noted disciples were Śāriputra (for his wisdom) and Maudgalyāyana (for his magical abilities) in distinction to India where Ānanda (for his extensive experience) was the clear favorite. And, in the folk Buddhist traditions of China, Maudgalyāyana was even more popular than Śāriputra while the latter was often himself depicted as something of a conjurer. One of the reasons for Maudgalyāyana's vast popularity in China, aside from the fact that his story nicely complemented native teachings on filial piety, is that he functioned as a sort of patron saint of prestidigitators. For the populace, visual effects were more convincing than doctrinal disquisitions.

It would be improper to discredit an Indian Buddhist origin for the word pien on the grounds that not all pien-wen have Buddhist themes. This is to ignore the obvious: pien-wen in China has a history of its own. It began as an Indo-Buddhist phenomenon but gradually became secularized,

first to the extent that the form could be employed to tell non-Buddhist stories, and secondly to the extent that the Buddhist-tinged name nearly dropped out of use altogether though the form survived.[138] Because of the undeniable Buddhist origins of pien-wen, we ought to seek to determine whether there is an exactly corresponding term in Indian languages.

Hrdličkova's suggestion[139] that the pien of pien-wen is the Chinese equivalent of Sanskrit pariṇāma is not far from the mark. Pariṇāma, usually rendered in Chinese as 轉變 means "change" or "evolution." As a figure of speech, it expresses a feeling, emotion, intention, or thought which is actualized (brought into reality).[140] In philosophy, it refers to the alteration from one condition or the development into another. This constituted an essential element in the teachings of the Dharmalakṣaṇa school (法相 or 唯識 Vijñānamātra[vāda]; cittamātra) which held that all things are dependent on mind-evolution, being neither real nor unreal in and of themselves. We must ultimately reject pariṇāma as the equivalent of pien in pien-wen and pien-hsiang, however, for it never means, in an active sense, "create the illusion or appearance of," "conjure up," "manifestation of a divine being," and so on — all meanings which pien in these contexts conveys.

Kuan Te-tung was of the opinion[141] that pien is a transliteration of maṇḍala. Note also Dolby's translation[142] of pien-wen as "Mandala texts" which shows that he accepts Kuan Te-tung's interpretation of the expression. It is likely that Kuan was prompted to make this equation between pien and maṇḍala because of earlier remarks such as that made by Nagasawa Kikuya: "It is said that pien-wen originally specified the inscription on a maṇḍala."[143] Shionoya On had also declared that pien is probably a Buddhist term and gone on to say that pien-hsiang is like maṇḍala and pien-wen is similar to the explanations which accompany a maṇḍala.[144] Yet no one, including Kuan, has substantiated the equation between pien and maṇḍala with reference to any text or inscription. There are, furthermore, more immediate objections which must be raised against it.

Because of the fact that it occurs in combination with wen and hsiang and also because of other textual associations, it is evident that pien in the contexts which concern us is being used for its semantic content rather than employed for purposes of transliteration. And, even if it were exceptionally so employed, it is highly unlikely that it would simultaneously be used to convey a meaning.[145] pien was already firmly established in the Buddhist technical vocabulary as a translation for Sanskrit words which had to do with supernatural transformation. It is almost inconceivable that it would also be made to imply circularity which is the root meaning of maṇḍala. Finally, there are numerous other standard translations of maṇḍala in Chinese (e.g. 曼荼羅, 曼陀囉, 滿荼邏, etc.). It is impossible that a totally unrelated word such as pien would have been used only in the case of *"maṇḍala text" and *"maṇḍala tableau."

We must also, in discussing the proposed equation between pien and maṇḍala, point out that these terms refer to two separate entities in Chinese Buddhist art. Art historians, however, have used the two terms somewhat interchangeably. Close examination[146] of T'ang texts, however, reveals that Chinese Buddhist authors normally tended to make a distinction between the two forms. We cannot, of course, expect that the dividing-line between maṇḍala and pien-hsiang can ever be made completely clear for, in truth, the two merge into each other. While the maṇḍala side of the scale is more related to devotion, worship, ritual, and meditation, the pien side has more to do with the illustration of narrative episodes, whether individually or in series. A given painting may include elements of both and hence, to a greater or lesser degree, may fulfill a dual function. A maṇḍala is primarily a place, site, location, arena, or object used to assist in religiously oriented concentration which leads to spiritual enlightenment. The Chinese translation, 道場 ("way-arena," cf. "bema"), of Sanskrit bodhimaṇḍala is most revealing in this regard. A religious pien, on the other hand, is primarily intended to portray a scene or incident (or series of scenes and incidents) of didactic import.

Hence we should not confuse pien and maṇḍala nor, all the more, should we equate the two.

We may thus, in one sense, consider pien to be "the appearance, manifestation, or realization of a deity in a narrative context." This not only makes it qualitatively different from a maṇḍala, but also from a plain hsiang 像 (pratirūpa, pratirūpaka, etc.) or ch'ü 軀 that is but an image of a deity. Presumably, the religious pien storyteller was thought to be able to cause the epiphany of a deity or deities in a narrative context. His counterparts, the Indonesian dalang and the Rajasthani bhopo, at any rate, are certainly credited with such ability.[147]

In discussing the possible Sanskrit antecedents of Chinese Buddhist pien, it is necessary at this stage to issue a general caveat concerning the equation of Buddhist technical terms in different languages. As Régamey has shown very clearly, it is dangerous to equate terms from Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese even when they are found in parallel passages from the same text: "When, in two parallel passages, two expressions are found which correspond with each other in a sentence, these expressions are noted as equivalent even when the proper meanings of those words have very little in common. These discrepancies are interpreted as the result of the artificial character of Buddhist translations and as a proof that there existed no fixed Buddhist terminology in Chinese, whereas they very often constitute divergencies made on purpose or simply misreadings."[148]

There is almost never an exact one-to-one correspondence between a Chinese Buddhist translation and its original Sanskrit source whereas it is often more nearly possible to achieve approximate equivalence for many Tibetan translated texts and their Sanskrit originals. A striking example of a complete misunderstanding and mistranslation of an entire sūtra is entertainingly described by Brough in his "The Chinese Pseudo-Translation of Ārya-Śūra's Jātaka-mālā." Even when a Sanskrit original or a highly literal Tibetan translation exists with which to check the Chinese, one should

always offer equivalences of technical terms circumspectly and tentatively. There did exist a more or less fixed Buddhist terminology in Chinese but it was Chinese first and Sanskritic only secondarily. Naturally it also changed over time so that, at different periods of history, the same Sanskrit word or concept might be rendered by several Chinese expressions.

The relationship between Chinese Buddhist and Sanskrit technical vocabulary is no simple matter. In some cases, there may be exact equivalence between items (e.g. 阿槃陀羅 and avāntara). In other cases, one Sanskrit word may be rendered by many quite different Chinese expressions (e.g. 怛他揭[or 蘗]多，多陁[or 他]阿伽度[or 陀 or 駄]，怛闥[or 薩]阿竭，荅荅葛達，怛侘議多，多他阿伽陀[耶]，如來 and Tathāgata). Some Chinese technical Buddhist terms may actually be a conflation of several Sanskrit terms (e.g. 性 and svabhāva, prakṛti, pradhāna, etc.). And many technical terms in Chinese Buddhism have no analogues in Sanskrit (e.g. Zen kōan 公案). I consider pien as an artistic or literary genre to be in the next to last category, that is, although it has definite Sanskritic antecedents, pien is not equal to any single Sanskrit word or term.

One of the very few texts in the Chinese Buddhist canon which includes the word pien with the approximate meaning "picture (of a transformational or supernatural event or deity)" is the Mūlasarvāstivādavinayakṣudrakavastu 根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事 (text no. 1451 in T24). This text was translated in full by I-ching in the year 703 from manuscripts which he himself had brought back from India.[149] The crucial passage[150] in which the important reference to pien occurs may be summarized as follows: After the elder, Anāthapiṇḍika 給孤長者, had completed the construction of the Jetavana garden, he felt that it would be appropriate to decorate the buildings with colorful paintings. And so he went to the Buddha to ask his advice. The Buddha told him to follow his own inclinations. Thereupon, he collected the necessary materials for painting and called

together artisans to carry out the work. But, when the artisans asked him what they should paint and where, Anāthapiṇḍika replied that he did not know and that he had better go ask the Buddha again. The Buddha then proceeded to explain, in precise detail, both the subject matter and the location of suggested paintings.

In this context, the word pien occurs twice (T24.283b, lines 3 and 8) with the probable meaning of "supernatural event(s) [pictorially represented]." In its first occurrence, the suggested painting is designated as a "pien of great supernatural power" 大神通變.[151] Unfortunately, although numerous fragments of the Sanskrit Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya survive,[152] there are none corresponding to this passage. The Tibetan version,[153] however, follows the extant Sanskrit fragments closely and may be considered a highly reliable substitute for the lost portion of the original sūtra.[154] For "pien of great supernatural power," the Tibetan hear reads "a great cho-hphrul"[155] which is a standard translation of Sanskrit prātihārya and ṛddhi.[156] The second occurrence of pien is in the expression "pien of hell" 地獄變. The Chinese expression means "manifestation" or "representation" 變[現] (Sanskrit prātihārya) of [the sufferings in] hell (Sanskrit naraka). Unexpectedly, the Tibetan here reads dmyal-baḥai-rabs, which means "a hell family," i.e., a "lineage" or "hierarchy" of the arrangement of hell.[157] It is impossible to determine, on the basis of available materials, whether the Chinese or the Tibetan more accurately represents the original Sanskrit. What matters is that we have been able to identify in a Chinese sūtra ultimately derived from a Sanskrit source the word pien occurring with the probable meaning of "[pictorial representation of] supernatural event(s)."

Chou I-liang, referring to the Chinese text, states[158] that this seems not to be a normal Chinese usage of pien and suggests that it has a Sanskrit antecedent. The word which he mentions as a possibility is citra ("picture"). This is a commendable guess but one which can be justified neither etymologically nor textually. Wu Hsiao-ling has a

suggestion similar to Chou I-liang's. Wu offers vicitra ("variegated," "brilliant") as the Sanskrit equivalent of pien.[159] He maintains that vicitra includes the meanings "strange" and "supernatural" and indeed it does. But I have not been able to confirm philologically that it occurs in contexts with the meaning "[pictorial representation of] supernatural/transformational [event(s)/deitie(s)]" which it must if it is to match Chinese Buddhist pien in the sense under discussion. Another interesting observation[160] by Chou on this passage is that, since it refers both to hsiang 像 and pien 變 , the two must be different. "It is probable that the subject of a hsiang is a person while the subject of a pien is an episode (lit. "event" or "matter" 事)." This ties in very well with my contention[161] that pien by its very nature has narrative qualities.

The longest passage in the Pāli canon describing the construction and decoration of the Jetavana garden and monastery that I have been able to locate is Cullavagga 6, 4.10:

> Then the householder Anāthapiṇḍika, thinking: "This Prince Jeta is a distinguished, well-known man; surely the faith in this dhamma and discipline of well-known men like this is very efficacious," made over that open space to Prince Jeta. The Prince Jeta built a porch[162] on that open space. The householder Anāthapiṇḍika had dwelling-places made, he had cells made... porches... attendance halls... fire halls... huts for what is allowable... privies... places for pacing up and down in...halls in the places for pacing up and down in...wells,..halls at the wells... bathrooms...halls in the bathrooms...lotus ponds.... He had sheds made.[163]

Nowhere is there a mentinn of pictures being painted, hence it is impossible to make any claim about the Indic equivalent of pien on the basis of this passage. The account as given by the Mulasarvastivadins has all the earmarks of a later elaboration of a canonical legend.

In a discussion of the possible evolution within Buddhism of charaṇa or karana chitra ("rambling," "strolling," or "improvised pictures") into wall paintings, Barua cites a legend from the Divyāvadāna[164] which I have also been able to locate in the Chinese version of the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya.[165] The Buddha suggests that, in order for the other disciples to become as effective preachers as Mahāmaudgalyāyana, certain paintings should be affixed to the monastery where they dwelled. (One wonders whether Mahāmaudgalyāyana may not himself have used pictures in his preaching. At any rate, his ability to conjure images is undisputed since he was preeminent among the Buddha's disciples for his magical powers 神通第一 .)

> The wheel of life with five divisions should be represented on the doorway (of the Veṇuvana monastery), showing the five destinies of men, namely, those typified by the infernal creatures, the brute, the departed spirits, the gods and the human beings. In the lowest division are to be shown the infernal creatures, the brute world and the departed spirits; in the upper division the gods, men and the four continents (Pūrvavideha, Aparagodānīya, Uttaraku and Jambudvīpa); in the middle parts Passion, Hatred, and Delusion,--Passion in the form of a pigeon, Hatred in that of a serpent, Delusion in that of a boar, as well as the Buddha-image, the circle of Nirvāṇa, and the chance-born beings, the last as rising and falling in the form of the rope-and-bucket of a well; while surrounding all is to be engraved the Buddhist Wheel of Life, divided into 12 segments and revolving forwards and backwards. The representations must set forth concrete examples of the different ways and actions leading persons along these destinies. The Wheel of Life must be accompanied by the inscription recording the two verses urging —
>
> "Proceed, O man, come out and flock to Buddha's standard,

Shatter Death's legion, as elephant tramples
house of reed, not hard."[166]

Where the Sanskrit text has kārayitavyam or kartavyā (translated by Barua as "represented," "shown," etc.), the Chinese gives hua 畫 ("paint"). And, where the Chinese text, apparently for clarity's sake, is compelled to use hsiang 像 ("image"), hsiang 相 ("appearance") and hsing 形 ("form"), the Sanskrit omits similar expressions altogether. In spite of the obvious similarity to the decorations stipulated for the Jetavana monastery in the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayakṣudrakavastu where the word pien 變 does occur with the meaning "transformational (representation)," it is totally absent from this passage.

After an extensive search, I have not been able to discover in any Indian language, ancient or modern, an expression which corresponds exactly to the Chinese "pien-wen." Though pien surely means "transformation" in the sense of "(pictorial) representation," it does not equal śaubhika, yamapaṭa, maṇkha or any of the many other words in Indian languages for picture storytelling.[167] The conclusion which, therefore, I have been forced to reach is that the Chinese, when confronted with these mysterious transformational shadows, coined the expression themselves. But, in so doing, they chose a Buddhist technical term of respectable pedigree, one which was already established as a translation of nirmāṇa, prātihārya, and related concepts. The Chinese Buddhist technical term pien, which is markedly different from earlier usages of the word in classical contexts, would seem to be a conflation of a number of Indian Buddhist concepts. We may not say that it is exactly equivalent to any single Sanskrit term. The passage of Buddhism through Central Asia alone means that, in many cases, certain residues of languages there would have become attached to the technical vocabulary that was transmitted to China.[168] Pien-wen is thus the embodiment of an intercultural nexus: it is neither simply Indian nor Chinese, yet is is paradoxically both Indian and Chinese.

Chapter Three Corpus of pien-wen and Related Genres

Having determined the meaning of the term "pien-wen," we are now in a position to attempt to discover how large the corpus of genuine pien-wen is. In order to do so, we must first distinguish it from other genres of popular literature that were discovered at Tun-huang and that were current during the T'ang period.

The chaotic state of Tun-huang literary studies is reflected in Kaji Tetsujō's list[1] of synonyms for pien-wen: "Buddhist cantos" (Fo-ch'ü 佛曲), "sung texts" (ch'ang-wen 唱文), "prosimetric texts" (chiang-ch'ang-wen 講唱文), "tales of conditional origins" (yüan-ch'i 緣起), "popular lectures" (su-chiang 俗講), "turning" or "warbling" (chuan 轉), and "singing" (ch'ang 唱). Aside from the fact that not all of these terms can be attested as contemporaneous designations for T'ang literary genres of any sort, they certainly cannot all be said to mean the same thing as pien-wen. As stated above, the problem with which we are confronted is how to distinguish pien-wen from other popular literary texts discoverd at Tun-huang. This also leads to the question of whether the term "pien-wen" was used loosely or rigorously during the T'ang and Five Dynasties periods.

Another unworkably broad categorization of pien-wen is that of Yu Tien-ts'ung who maintains[2] that "sūtra lectures" (chiang-ching-wen 講經文), "lyric texts" (tz'u-wen 詞文), "tales of conditional beginnings" (yüan[-ch'i] 緣[起]), "rhapsodies" (fu 賦), "notes" (chi 記), "talks" (hua 話), "accounts" (chuan 傳), and "story roots" (hua-pen 話本) are all sub-categories within it! Surely it defies all logic to assert that, as a group, these terms have any other relationship than the fact that some of them designate types of popular literature which were found at Tun-huang and are mostly Buddhist in inspiration. This information alone is of little value to the literary historian.

As a glaring example of the confused state in which Tun-huang literature studies find themselves presently, let us examine the "Story of Catch-Tiger Han" (S2144). Although the manuscript lacks any title, this story is commonly referred to as a hua-pen ("story root") (韓擒虎話本).[3] This is unfortunate, in the first instance, because it is well known that the term hua-pen is itself among the most problematic of designations employed in the study of Chinese popular literature and, in the second instance, to the extent that calling the story in question a hua-pen implies anything, it indicates a putative generic relationship to the now debunked[4] corpus of Sung and Yüan vernacular stories. This assumption is so patently suspect that it scarcely deserves discussion. It is curious, however, to remark on the genesis of this designation of the Catch-Tiger Han story as a hua-pen. The reason is quite transparent. At the end of the story, we find this sentence: "Since the illustrated booklet [homonymous with hua-pen] has come to an end, [the text] as well is no longer transcribed" 畫本既終，並無抄略.[5] The copyist had simply decided not to write down any more of the text because he had reached the final illustration. The accompanying illustrations to which he refers were most likely in a separate booklet (as they are described in the scene from the Tale of Genji where Ukon and Nakanokimi comfort Ukifune[6]) or, less probably, at the top of the pages of the text from which the copyist was working.

The carelessness with which modern scholars have named various works of Tun-huang literature is conspicuous in the absurd circumstance where a piece that — except for a closing eulogy supposedly composed by Hsüan-tsung 玄宗 — is entirely prose (the account of Chang Ling 張令 and the wizard, Yeh Ching-neng: S6836; T216-228) has been styled a poem. It should be obvious that the end-title of the manuscript "Yeh Ching-neng shih" 葉淨能詩，refers only to the poem which appears at the end of the tale. The inclusion in T of the stories of Catch-Tiger Han and the wizard Yeh Ching-neng implies that both are pien-wen, a claim which

it is impossible to substantiate.

To attack this beastly nomenclatural problem, we might begin by saying that there are presently operative at least four different definitions of pien-wen which result in corpora of four different orders of magnitude. These I shall call the "narrow definition," "the broad definition," "the broadest definition," and "the meaninglessly broad definition." Starting with the latter, we may say that it is a definition which embraces all manuscripts discovered at Tun-huang. Without further ado or adieu, we should discard and banish it forever!

A "broadest definition" of pien-wen includes any and all non-canonical, non-classical, non-documentary[7] texts discovered at Tun-huang. In short, such a definition declares that any work of popular literature, be it prose or poetry or a combination thereof, be it narrative or descriptive or lyrical, should be considered a pien-wen. Since there is no conceivable justification for such a definition and since adherence to it would seriously impede the scientific study of Chinese popular literature, it should likewise be relegated to the scrap heap of bygone fantasies.

We must exercise careful judgement in criticizing the broad definition of pien-wen, for many responsible scholars have subscribed to it in the past. The broad definition of pien-wen comprises any and all narrative popular literature from Tun-huang even if it be written entirely in verse,[8] plus popular religious expositions such as ya-tso-wen 押座文, chiang-ching-wen, yüan-ch'i and, in some cases, "hymns" (sung 頌), "eulogies" (tsan 讚), and suites of "cantos" (ch'ü 曲) as well. Throughout his book of studies on Tun-huang lyrical airs, Jen Erh-pei uses the terms pien and pien-wen loosely to apply to a variety of grouped verse. Surprisingly, Jen's usage is quite conscious in the sense that he is aware of the difficulties involved: "The meaning of pien-wen has still not been clarified. My opinion is that there is nothing wrong with approaching the term strictly as a literary form: 'Anything which tells a story and is composed of a combination of a variety of different verse

forms and spoken language, and which is for the use of a lecturer-singer (chiang-ch'ang-che 講唱者) may be viewed as pien-wen.'"[9] Jen goes on to enumerate some of the many genres of Tun-huang literature which he believes fall under the rubric of pien-wen, such as ya-tso-wen and yüan-ch'i. For Jen, pien-wen is a basic literary form (t'i 體) and there are numerous applications (yung 用) of that form. He specifically warns his readers that it would be "obviously committing the error of being too literal-minded" if the designation pien-wen is restricted only to those pieces which have it in their titles. I am not entirely convinced of the danger of such literal-mindedness, particularly when faced with the massive confusion resulting from the unscientific and uncritical attitude advocated by Jen. What is the value of a definition of pien-wen which includes all narrative literature from Tun-huang regardless of whether it is in verse, in prose, or is a combination of the two?[10] We should also ask whether such a usage bears any resemblance to the T'ang understanding of the term. It is, after all, our duty as literary historians to try to determine contemporaneous conventions rather than to concoct our own convenient ones.

The broad definition (or rather set of broad definitions) is one which normally results in a corpus of something between 60 and 135 texts.[11] The fact that the lower and upper limits of this definition differ by a factor greater than two render it suspect and, in the long run, unsatisfactory as a working tool for studies in Chinese popular literature. One thing which must be recognized clearly in regard to the broad definition of pien-wen is that, while it has a certain limited application as a tool for literary analysis, it is purely a modern scholarly convention that has no relationship whatsoever to actual T'ang and Five Dynasties usage.

A narrow definition of pien-wen, which I hold ultimately to be the only truly workable one, is arrived at by a sustained and rigorous attempt to understand as precisely as possible what contemporary users of the term meant by it. In essence, that is the purpose of this entire book.

Such a narrow definition results in a corpus of approximately twenty extant pien-wen.[12] The majority of these texts are specifically entitled pien or pien-wen on the manuscripts.[13] A few others may be added because they share certain easily recognizable formal characteristics with the overwhelming majority of titled pien and pien-wen. There are, in addition, several problematic literary pieces from Tun-huang which need to be discussed individually because, though they do not fit the formal narrow definition for pien-wen that I have proposed, each has in its title the word pien. A "narrowest definition" of pien-wen would exclude these pieces on the grounds that they do not fulfill the formal requirements of the genre which have been arrived at by empirical inspection of the overwhelming majority of manuscripts in the known corpus of transformation texts. A more lenient, yet still narrow, definition would include them — but no others unless the word pien as a literary designation occurred in their titles — on the grounds that even contemporary users of the term could, upon occasion, be liable to inexactitude or laxity.

Of all the Tun-huang popular literary texts, none more clearly qualifies in the aggregate to be designated a pien-wen than that relating Mahāmaudgalyāyana's rescue of his mother from the dark regions (hell). This is a text for which there exist multiple related copies, most of which include titles specifying the work as a pien-wen. The following is a list of the relevant manuscripts and titles:

S2614 Ta-mu-ch'ien-lien ming-chien chiu-mu pien-wen ping t'u i chüan ping hsü 大目乾連冥間救母變文一卷并圖并序 (head title)[14] Ta-mu-chien-lien pien-wen i chüan 大目犍連變文一卷 (end title).

P3107 Ta-mu-ch'ien-lien ming-chien chiu-mu pien-wen i chüan ping hsü 大目乾連冥間救母變文一卷并序 (head title).

P2319 Ta-mu-ch'ien-lien ming-chien chiu-mu pien-wen i chüan 大目乾連冥間救母變文一卷

(head title).

Ta-mu-chien-lien pien-wen i chüan 大目犍連變文一卷 (end title).

P3485 Mu-lien pien-wen 目連變文 (head title).

PK876 Ta-mu-chien-lien pien-wen i chüan 大目犍連變文一卷 (end title).

It is incorrect, however, to refer to the account of Maudgalyāyana on PK2496 (T756-759) as a transformation text since it lacks the verse introductory formula[15] and, in many respects, more nearly resembles the anomalous "Eight Aspects pien" (PK3024) and "Destruction of the Transformations of Demons" (P2187).[16]

Careful examination of these transformation texts on Maudgalyāyana reveals certain specific and consistently employed identifying characteristics. Chief among these are: a unique verse introductory (or pre-verse) formula, an episodic narrative progression, homogeneity of language, an implicit or explicit relationship to illustrations, and prosimetric structure. I shall discuss each of these identifying characteristics individually at greater length in succeeding chapters.

S5437 and a Peking University Library manuscript formerly belonging to Shao Hsün-mei 邵洵美 both have as their head titles "Transformation of the Han General Wang Ling" 漢將王陵變. The same title also occurs on the covers of the booklet P3627 (=P3867). P3627.2 further has the following colophon: "Transformation on Wang Ling [and His Role in] the Destruction of Ch'u and the Rise of the Han [Dynasty] in the Eighth Year of the Han, One Layout. Noted by the Recording Officer Yen Wu-ch'eng[17] on the sixteenth day of the eighth month of the fourth year of the Heavenly Blessing reign period [October 1, 939]." 漢八年楚滅漢興王陵變一鋪. 天福四年八月十六日孔目官閻物成寫記. Since the text includes the verse introductory formula, there is no question that we are here dealing with an authentic pien.

A straightforward case of an authentic pien-wen is that

on the subduing of demons (S5511 and the copy formerly in Hu Shih's possession [originally a single ms]). The progression of the narrative, the ratio of prose to verse, verse introductory formula, language, etc., all mark it as a typical pien-wen. Both the head title and the end title read Hsiang-mo pien-wen i chüan 降魔變文一卷, but the head title on S4398v reads Hsiang-mo pien i chüan 降魔變一卷 which indicates that pien and pien-wen are interchangeable with regard to written transformation texts.[18] Giles says[19] that the title on S4398v does not seem to relate to what follows. This is because it includes only the introductory section of the text and it is not apparent from this section of the text what the main theme of the story will be.

Although the Tun-huang prosimetric narrative of Wang Chao-chün 王昭君 (S2204) lacks both head and end titles, it is pre-eminently qualified to be designated a pien-wen. Not only is its language and proportion of prose to verse in perfect accord with those texts which bear contemporaneous titles or colophons identifying them as pien-wen, it also has the verse introductory formula (T100.15 incorrectly gives 處若為; the manuscript reads 處若為陳說). But even more revealing is the clear reference (T100.12) to the setting up of more than one scroll (presumably of illustrations) to accompany the reading of the text. 上卷立鋪畢, 此入下卷. The "first scroll" and the "second scroll" here cannot refer to the literary text itself which is manifestly on a single scroll. And p'u 鋪, of course, is a common designation for a "layout" of a picture or a series of pictures. We can also deduce from this important notation in the Wang Chao-chün transformation text that the first picture scroll referred to probably had more than one scene on it since there is more than one episode preceding this point in the text. Five episodes follow the notation without mention of another picture scroll so we may assume that the second layout would have had at least five scenes. Incidentally, the use of pictures here is not proof that the text was meant for performance rather than private reading. We know from the Genji monogatari scroll that there were separate

picture books to accompany the reading of written texts. The reference to illustrations can also be construed as part of the overall attempt to provide a simulated context for the reader.[20]

The Tun-huang story about Li Ling 李陵 kept in the Peking Library, while it lacks a title, may confidently be referred to as a pien-wen because of its similarity in language and, particularly, in form to texts which bear that designation in titles or colophons on the manuscript. The stories of Chang I-ch'ao 張義潮 (P2962) and Chang Hu i-shen 張淮深 (P3451) also fall into this category.

Among those texts which include the word pien in their titles but require separate discussion because they do not fit the emerging pattern of the majority of known transformation texts is the "Causal[21] Transformation on a Maiden in the Women's[22] Palace of King Bimbisāra [Named] 'Intends to Create Merit' Who Is Reborn in Heaven for Having Given Her Support to a Stūpa." 頻婆沙羅王后宮綵女功德意供養塔生天因緣變. The text presented by the T editors on T764-769 is actually a composite work. The title and the first third of the account are from S3491v (the middle third is missing) and the last third is from P3051. There are several curious features of this text which require mention. The first is that it begins with the same "seat-settling text" as the "Destruction of the Transformation of Demons" (P2187, T344-345b). The second is that the title is repeated again in abbreviated form after the "seat-settling text" and a brief prose bridge in praise of the reigning authorities as "The Occasion[23] of 'Intends to Create Merit' Being Reborn in Heaven for Having Given Her Support to a Stūpa" 功德意供養塔生天緣 without any mention of pien or pien-wen. With this, compare the Huan-hsi kuo-wang yüan 歡喜國王緣 discussed below. The third is that the verse introductory formula for pien-wen occurs only once (T767.12). The fourth is that the verse in the first third is a combination of hexasyllabic and heptasyllabic lines while that in the final third is a combination of pentasyllabic and heptasyllabic lines. The fifth is that the first part bears fewer

vestigial marks of descent from oral narrative than does the final part. Another relevant item of information is the miraculous (hence pien?) rebirth in heaven of the maiden Kung-te-i. I would, on the basis of all these features, refer to this work — certainly as assembled by the T editors — as a "mixed" or "hybrid" transformation text. But even the final one-third (from P3051) alone cannot be considered a typical pien-wen.

Except for two short poems,[24] the Tun-huang story of the extreme filial piety of the legendary Shun as a boy is written entirely in prose. This causes problems for a definition of pien or pien-wen which specifies the prosimetric form as an essential characteristic since the two relevant manuscripts, S4654 and P2721, respectively have a head title and an end title which identify the story with these terms (Shun-tzu pien i chüan 舜子變一卷 and Shun-tzu chih-hsiao pien-wen i chüan 舜子至孝變文一卷). The text also lacks the pre-verse formula and all other implicit or ostensible connections to illustrations. The language and style, as well, resemble less those of the majority of certifiable pien-wen than they do those of the wholly prose, extended narratives such as the story of Ch'iu Hu 秋胡 and Hui Yüan 惠遠 (this latter is simply designated on the manuscript [S2073] as a "Tale [hua] of the Honorable [Hui-]yüan of Lu Mountain" 廬山遠公話).[25] Hence, there would appear to be only two probable explanations for the occurrence of pien in the titles of this piece. One is that it represents a contemporary loose (or "broad") usage of the term as a designation for a literary genre. The other, which seems more likely to me, is that it is here being used in the sense of "wonder, miracle." This could then be taken as referring to the miraculous ways in which the boy Shun is rescued from the nefarious machinations of his stepmother (T131.7-8; 132.5 [note the use of the word hua 化]; 133.1 [note the use of the word pien]; 133.6-7) and the wondrous manner in which he cures his father of blindness (T134.1).

On both P3645 and S5547, the story of the crown prince of the Liu house during the Former Han dynasty carries the

actual head title 前漢劉家太子傳. This title also occurs later on P3645.[26] The designation as chuan 傳 seems proper since this is a wholly prose account of certain events surrounding the fall of the Western Han dynasty at the hands of Wang Mang 王莽. Yet, after several marginally related anecdotes,[27] an end title[28] is given on P3645 (劉家太子變一卷) which identifies it as a pien. Like the pien about Shun-tzu, this brief story is replete with miraculous happenings (T160.7-8, 161.6, 161.7-10, and 161.12). Similarly, these may account for the anomalous designation as pien.

Another anomalous text with regard to the designation pien is that which deals with the eight aspects[29] of the Buddha's life. On the back of PK3024 (the text occurs on the front and in a seemingly different hand) are written the three characters pa-hsiang pien 八相變. In spite of the reassurances of the T editors (T342n1), I am suspicious of the authenticity of such titles written alone on the backs of scrolls.[30] It should be noted that the author himself, in a discussion of the title of his work, does not refer to it as a pien (T342.5). The rather cryptic reference reads as follows: "I have just[31] spoken to you the 'Eight Manifestations of the Tathāgata' 如來八相[32] but could not exhaust its sources during the third month[33] of autumn. Roughly according to the title, I have revealed the subject and set forth its main points." The remainder of the writing on the manuscript is a clear reference to a particular session at which this text was delivered (the sun is setting in the west, the good audience has been seated for a long time, etc.). Even assuming that the three characters on the verso are actually contemporaneous with the text on the recto, we can only say that this text represents an unusual variant of the pien genre. Like the abbreviated Maudgalyāyana transformation text (P2319), it frequently resorts to the formula "and so on and so forth" 云云. It is also prosimetric but the verse portions give the impression of being greatly shortened. The usual verse introductory formula in this text is "At that time, what words did he say?" 當爾之時，道何言語, or the temporal

phrase alone. This indicates an affinity with avadāna and nidāna[34] rather than the majority of authentic pien-wen.

Similar to the so-called "Eight Aspects pien" on PK3024 is the "Destruction of the Transformations of Demons" 破魔變一卷 (end title) on P2187. Its head title reads "Seat-Settling Text for the Defeat of the Transformations of Demons" 降魔變[35] 押座文. We may discount the significance of the head title at once because it refers only to the opening section and not to the main text.[36] Though the verse is not so compressed, it too occasionally invokes the formula for abbreviation 云云. Likewise, its usual verse introductory formula is "At that time, what words did he say?" or variations thereof. A most intriguing feature of this work is that it is a veritable hybrid between the dramatic and narrative modes. On the one hand, we frequenly encounter such tags as "the damsel" and "the Buddha" followed by direct discourse (usually in verse), as though this text were meant to serve as the script of a play. And, on the other hand, the voice of the storyteller persona is prominent in the prose sections.

Again, it is possible that the word pien in the titles of both these works (the "Eight Aspects" and the "Destruction of Demons") refers less to a literary classification than to the supernatural happenings recorded therein. Such occurrences are particularly prominent in the latter text (e.g., T349.2ff, 352.14ff, and 353.7ff) but are also found in the former (e.g., T333.9ff) and, indeed, Buddhist doctrine holds the worldly existence of all Buddhas to be a series of "transformations."

It would seem, then, to be preferable to think of the pien in the titles of the special group of texts under discussion as referring generally to the "unusual" or "strange" incidents which occur in the stories themselves. This is certainly possible in the case of the story of Shun as a boy and the crown prince of the Liu house during the Former Han dynasty. As for the title of the tale of the maiden in the women's palace of King Bimbisāra, it is possible to explain pien as referring to the actual transformations of the young

lady that take place therein. But, no matter what the ultimate explanations of these titles may be, in terms of the overwhelming evidence presented by the available materials, they can only be considered as anomalies if it is insisted that they be included within the literary genre known as pien-wen at all. For that term to have any viable signification, it should — as do all genres of art and literature — point to a definable class of works that are similar to each other with respect to style, form, and purpose. Works which do not fit these characteristics, even though they be obviously labelled as belonging to the genre in question, can only be viewed as exceptions or loose usages. Examination of the available manuscripts reveals that T'ang usage was, by and large, consistent with regard to pien and pien-wen as literary phenomena.

We may now turn to examine a number of other texts which have been mistakenly identified as pien-wen in the past. The Tun-huang version of the Tung Yung 董永 story (S2204) is written almost[37] entirely in heptasyllabic verse. The T editors suggest (T113n1) that, because of the strangely disjointed nature (see, for example, T111.2-3) of the text, the prose sections have been omitted from what may have originally been a prosimetric narrative. The language is also comparable to the verse portions of authentic pien-wen. However, since the manuscript shows no connection with and makes no reference (implicit or otherwise) to pictures,[38] it cannot properly be called a pien-wen.

The lack of the verse introductory formula, the occasional employment of verse other than heptasyllabic, the relatively more polished style, the higher proportion of prose (e.g., T17.1-19.15 and the long section from T25.5 to the end), and the comparatively frequent literary allusions (see the annotations to my translation in Tun-huang Popular Narratives) all disbar the Tun-huang story of Wu Tzu-hsü (P3213, S6331, S328, and P2794) from qualification as a pien-wen.[39]

The Tun-huang prosimetric story of Meng Chiang-nü 孟姜女 (P5039), which lacks both head and end titles, in diction, style, and tone is similar to the Wu Tzu-hsü story.

It should not, by any narrow definition of the genre, be referred to as a pien-wen.

The story of the apprehension of Chi Pu 季布 for his tirade against Liu Pang 劉邦, which the T editors label (T51.1) a chuan-wen 傳文, should probably better be referred to as a "lyric text" (tz'u-wen 詞文). The basis for the T editors' designation — although they nowhere specify this — is likely S5441 which carries the head title "Text of the Story of the Capture of Chi Pu in One Scroll" 捉季布傳文一卷. S5439 is a booklet with the end titles "Song of Chi Pu in One Scroll" 季布歌一卷 and "Song of Chi Pu" 季布歌. This alone makes certain that it is a song we are here dealing with and not a prosimetric narrative. The contemporary designation applied to it on several of the manuscripts (S2056 [head title], P3386 [end title], P3697 [subtitle], etc.; cf. T51.2 and 71.5) is tz'u-wen. The author even refers to himself as a "lyricist" (tz'u-jen 詞人) at the end of the piece (T71.3). Given these contemporary references to the work as belonging to the genre of tz'u-wen plus the fact that it is written entirely in verse (virtually[40] all heptasyllabic) there is no justification whatsoever for designating it as a pien-wen.

Other texts that have been misrepresented as pien-wen are: the brief story of the Crown Prince's attainment of the way on P3496 and PK8579 (primarily in verse with prose headings beginning "at that time" used to introduce the gāthās [see T317-318]), and different portions of the same story on S4480, S4128, S4633, S3096 (all entirely in prose, see T320ff);[41] PK833 (T761-762), an incredibly powerful expression of purgatorial regret for misdeeds while living in which a preta ("hungry ghost") flogs its own corpse; the fragmentary text on P3128 that is unmistakably related both to the class of texts which use the formula "what words did he say?" (see T814.10 and 815.1: 道個甚言語也) and that ends with the lecturer exhorting his auditors to "come back early to listen the next morning when they hear the bell;" a fragmentary Taoistic piece on sickness and death (S4327; T817); and a piece, wholly in prose, about a monk named Shan-hui (善惠 Sādhumatī [?] (S3050; T819-820).

In the Russian catalog of Tun-huang manuscripts,[42] there is not a single text among the 25 mentioned under the category of pien-wen which, according to a narrow definition of the genre, may legitimately be called by that name, at least not insofar as they are described by the editors. Personal inspection of these manuscripts in Leningrad during the summer of 1981 confirms this finding. There may, however, be other genuine pien-wen in Russia, in China, or in private collections elsewhere that have not been publicly described adequately and of which I am, therefore, unaware.[43] All of the extant genuine pien-wen that I know of have been listed in this chapter.

One of the major problems with the hazy nomenclature applied to Tun-huang literature in the past has been the blurring of distinctions between transformation texts and sūtra lectures (chiang-ching-wen 講經文). A direct instance of the confusion that can result is manifest in this statement by Shih Wei-liang: "In the structure of pien-wen, there is a peculiar phenomenon which is the frequent use of a short passage from a sūtra and, after that, an elaboration based on this sūtra passage."[44] It is obvious that Shih was describing chiang-ching-wen, not pien-wen, when he made this statement. But Shih is far from being alone in his indulgence in imprecise terminology. Kenneth Ch'en twice[45] refers to a "*Vimalakīrti pien-wen" when he should have called it a Vimalakīrti chiang-ching-wen. That Ch'en's error was not an accident but a symptom of the general obfuscation surrounding Tun-huang literature studies is apparent from his misleading assertion[46] that "the modified versions of the sūtras preached in these popular lectures were designated pien-wen." Lai Ming's statement that "the development of Chinese fiction can be traced from the popularized versions of Buddhist sutras, which was what pien-wen was,"[47] while displaying a degree of perceptiveness in seeing the influence of Buddhism on Chinese fiction, is guilty of the same imprecision. Irwin falls into the identical trap when he speaks of "the early vernacular interpretations of Buddhist scriptures, known as pien-wen."[48] Even more mystifying is Chou I-liang's contention[49] that

pien-wen were somehow derived from chiang-ching-wen. According to Fujino Iwatomo, there are over forty pien-wen.[50] This figure implies that he includes under the genre both genuine pien-wen and chiang-ching-wen. And, indeed, he does refer to the Vimalakīrti sūtra lecture as a pien-wen.

A fascinating and vivid fictionalized account of a sūtra lecture given by the renowned Tao-an 道安 before an enormous crowd with surprising consequences may be found on T185.5ff. Study of this account and comparison with the literary references to transformation performances that I give in chapter six are helpful in revealing the different purposes and forms of the two genres.

Just as it is possible to identify genuine transformation texts by the occurrence of the standard verse introductory formula,[51] it is possible to distinguish sūtra lecture texts by the presence of the quotative formula ch'ang chiang-lai 唱將來(or variations thereof). The meaning of this formula, in most cases, is "Please begin singing," addressed to the assistant or cantor (tu-chiang 都講), assuming that one is present. In early Chinese colloquial, chiang-lai usually functions as a quasi-inchoative grammatical verb ending, hence "verb x chiang-lai" stands for "begin/start/initiate x-ing."[52] But it is apparent from the variations (唱唱羅 , 唱將羅 , 唱將羅羅 , etc.) of this quotative formula in the single lecture on the Vajra[cchedika]-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra (P2133) that it also sometimes functions as a gentle imperative or optative: "Let us sing" or "[Won't you] please sing." Also note 唱看看 (T502.7)[53] and 唱將來 (T504.6, 505.12, etc.) in the lecture on the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra (P2133); and note especially 請為唱將來 (T574.1) in one of the lectures on the Vimalakīrti-sūtra (S3872) and 請唱將來 (T547.12) in another (S4571).[54] An additional point of interest is that the word ch'ang 唱 also clearly is used in these texts as a numerary adjunct meaning "unit to be sung" (e.g., T436.7, 437.5 and 13, 441.3 and 10, 443.2, 497.14, 499.10, 637.12, 672.3ff, etc.).

The only text from Tun-huang known to me that actually has in its title the generic designation chiang-ching-wen is

the "Sūtra Lecture Text for the Festival of Welcoming the Sage[55] in the Hall of Restoration in the Year 933" 長興四年中興殿應聖節講經文(P3808). It is ironic that this particular text is atypical of the overwhelming majority of sūtra lectures. Only twice in the introduction does the standard formula ch'ang-chiang-lai 唱將來 occur. The division of the sūtra[56] into sections for discussion is also more perfunctory than in the typical sūtra lecture. After the introduction and the very brief exposition of the sūtra, the remainder of the text is given over to poems of praise for the reigning emperor.[57] This latter, in fact, seems to be the main business of the text as we now have it.

Among the Tun-huang manuscripts recently published in Taiwan in the highly commendable form of large, photographic reproductions is one identified by the editors as "*Mu-lien chiu-mu pien-wen [Pien-wen on Maudgalyāyana Rescuing His Mother]" 目蓮救母變文.[58] Pan Chung-kuei also hazards that it may be a pien-wen.[59] This is an extremely important document but it is, unfortunately, not a pien-wen. There can be no doubt that this is a sūtra lecture (chiang-ching-wen) since it includes the formula by which such texts may be identified, i.e., "Please begin singing" 唱將來,[60] and is divided into sections according to the portion of the sūtra being explicated. Regardless of its genre, however, Taiwan 32 is one of the most significant Tun-huang manuscripts yet published for it was almost certainly used as the text of an actual sermon or is the record of one. The sense of immediacy it affords the student of T'ang Buddhism is utterly captivating. I know of no other preserved Tun-huang manuscript comparable to it in this respect. The manuscript is quite sloppy and bears numerous corrections and notes. In some places, it even gives the distinct impression that last minute changes were made, as would be natural with the text of a lecture or sermon. Although this manuscript therefore deserves far more complete and careful editing that I am here able to afford it, as an indication of the nature and purpose of a prototypical sūtra lecture, it is worthwhile to examine it in some detail. I have also choosen to discuss this particular sūtra lecture because it has not

previously been studied and because of certain essential characteristics it embodies that have broad implications for the theoretical study of folk and popular literature.

The lecturer seems to begin with an introductory exploration of the meaning of the title. Since part of the opening is missing, it is not clear precisely how he goes about this. It is evident, nonetheless, that a platitudinous preview of the subject of the upcoming lecture (Maudgalyāyana's filial devotion and Buddha's encouragement of such conduct through the founding of the feast for hungry ghosts) occupies a prominent place. It also seems evident that the lecturer is not inclined to embark upon a philological excursus as the more sophisticated sūtra lecturers do.[61] At the close of the introduction, he refers to the sūtra in question as the Yü-lan ch'ing-ching ching [Sūtra of Purity and Cleanliness[62] for the Relief of Spirits in Purgatory] 盂蘭清淨經[63] and, in the title given at the end of the work, as the Yü-lan p'en ching [Sūtra of the Sacrificial Feast for the Relief of Spirits in Purgatory] 盂蘭盆經.[64] Thus it appears that the putative basis of this lecture was the well-known apocryphal sūtra of the latter name supposedly translated by Dharmarakṣa.

The succeeding piece on the scroll is a "Hymn of the Abhidharmakośa-śāstra" 阿毗達摩俱舍論頌,[65] not mentioned by the editors. The impression one gains from the juxtaposition on the same scroll of two such works obviously intended for use in religious services is that the manuscript was prepared for and preserved by a preacher or sermonizer as a handbook or manual.

After the introductory explanation of the meaning of the title, the lecturer declares: "[I] shall explain this sūtra in three major sections" 將釋此經大分三段.[66] He then goes on to state how he will proceed: "I will briefly tell you, my disciples, one item at a time;/ Below, following the sūtra, I lay it out step by step." 略与門徒分別說 / 何下依經次第(=第)陳.[67] This indicates that the text had a direct relationship to an actual oral setting. Further indication of the high degree of orality of this sūtra lecture occurs repeatedly throughout it.

Not only did he do this, in the first instance,
for Maudgalyāyana ... ;
He did it also for those of you who are this morning
below my pulpit.
不獨當初為目[?]連／兼為今朝座下人.[68]

Among these, the three kinds of enlightenment[69] are
beyond conception;
On another day, I ought to distinguish them for you
my disciples.
Today, for the moment, I briefly elucidate the
subtle dharma.
於(於)中三覺不思議;別日与門徒庶(應)分別／今且略明微(=微)妙法.[70]

Each of you reverently join his hands,
As I ask the cantor to sing of Maudgalyāyana's
attainment of the way.
各各虔(虔)恭合掌着／目連得道唱將來.

The lecturer (or recorder of the lecture) skips about wildly. He cannot manage consistently to produce heptasyllabic lines in the verse portions even though he clearly intends from the format (by arbitrary divisions of each column into two sections) to do so. Nor is he capable of providing a sequence of legitimate rhymes. Furthermore, he commits innumerable non-sequiturs and hopes to patch up the situation by belatedly adding a verse now and then or by drawing lines to rearrange the sequence. He makes notes to himself to delete words or joins a tiny radical to an already written character. Since many of the revisions are in a second hand, the conclusion that the lectuer or a second auditor is reviewing the recorder's work seems almost inevitable. Yet, in spite of the revisions, the lecture is, at times, totally incoherent. Whenever the train of thought of the lecture

breaks down altogether, the lecturer (or recorder) conveniently resorts to the addition of a "Son of Buddha" 仏子 .[71] Sometimes he does this with conviction (e.g., p. 273b5 and 10), sometimes timidly, almost as though it was an afterthought, not even managing to add the 子 .[72] It reminds one of a country preacher punctuating his sermon with "Amens" and being answered in chorus by the congregation. To impress his audience, he gratuitously displays his knowledge of the most basic Sanskrit ("In the Brahmanic language of the western parts, his name is the Buddha" 西方梵語名佛陁). He resorts to platitudes which surely must have stirred the hearts of his listeners to their very depths:

> It is just like the person of a mother in the world,
> If she can raise up a real son and he attains an official position,
> When his authority over people is such that everyone fears him,
> And he volunteers to share the worries of the Emperor by supporting the Great T'ang Dynasty;
> But suddenly he remembers his [literally "my"] father and mother,
> And hastens home to wait upon them attentively
> With the ~~money [sic]~~ wealth he has gained, he ~~buys~~ ~~nice things [sic]~~ gems,
> And takes them to present to his ~~kind [sic]~~ respected parents....
>
> 恰似世間慈母身
> 養得子時登官位
> 戮(威)勢人間皆惣怕
> 自出分憂佐大唐
> 忽然憶着我耽(=爺)孃
> 取向本州尊(replaces an illegible character)侍奉
> 所得物錢財物買好物珠璎
> 將來奉獻我慈尊親[73]

This, then, is the constant theme of the lecture — filial piety. To ensure that the members of his flock abide by its dictates, he urges them:

I exhort you, my disciples, to bestir a faithful heart,
Not to be lascivious and unfilial.

奉勸門徒莫(發)信心
莫作好斯(→色)不孝順.[74]

He orders them:

You must surely be filial without delay to your parents!

大須孝順 莫因循[=循] 阿耶孃[75]

And he threatens them:

If you do not repay their kindness, you are unfilial,
And will fall onto the evil paths of the three mires.[76]

不報其恩不孝順
墮向三塗惡道中.[77]

And, just in case all of this is insufficient, after having completed a recitation of ten types of parental kindness that it is hard for a child to repay, he invites his flock:

If you, my disciples, want a detailed explanation,
First be highly reverent, then act accordingly.
You below my pulpit[78] first(?) be expectant and fervent.[79]
門徒若(若)要細分別
先生敬(敬?)重後依行
生(→座?)下[illegible](illegible)生湯印心[80]

In short, Taiwan 32 is an atrociously written sermon, but one which should strike a warm (or, in some cases, hot) spot in the memory of anyone who grew up in a small town and went to church there. This sūtra lecture bespeaks, at every turn, on the spot interaction between a minister and his flock. Thus it would appear possible that at least some sūtra lecturers in the T'ang period employed lecture notes, just as many

modern ministers do, but there is no clear evidence that tellers of transformations resorted to promptbooks any more than do storytellers today.

Another valuable manuscript of a sūtra lecture is S6551 which deals with the Amitābha-vyūha-sūtra. From a reference to the Holy, Divine Khan of the Great Uighur Kingdom[81] and other details in the text, we know that it was written by a monk who was living in Khotan when it was under the control of the Uighurs,[82] i.e., ninth century or later. The first two-thirds of the manuscript in its present condition is an engagingly forthright sermon in a very conversational tone. The opening part accurately conveys the quality of the whole lecture:

> Having ascended the platform, first recite a gāthā, burn incense, and invoke the names of the various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.
>
> Ever since the World-Honored One of Great Enlightenment founded the Buddhist school,[83]
> By explaining its religious doctrine at the Deer Park and on the Spirit Vulture Peak,[84]
> The Five Classes and Three Vehicles[85] are kept on all the oceans' shores,
> Having been transmitted throughout the world, everyone receives their benefit.
> Monks, nuns, and the four orders[86] have come into the monasteries,[87]
> Like rushing clouds, carrying flames and holding parasols;
> Since today you can rid yourselves of the torments of the world,[88]
> Be quiet for a moment and listen to the text of the sūtra.
> The holy teachings of the Three Vehicles are surely worth hearing,
> Every word can be taught for they lighten the burden of karma;[89]
> Not only in the future will you attain the Buddha-fruit,[90]

For eon upon eon the mountains of your sins will
surely crumble.
But day after day, all you fret about are your
family affairs,
When have you ever, even for a day, listened to
the sūtras?
Would everyone present[91] join your palms for
a moment,
And listen to the Law with one heart, can
you?[92]

The lecturer then proceeds to give a brief biographical account of himself in which he describes how he became a teacher, his travels in China, pilgrimages he has made and planned, and why he stopped at the place where he is lecturing on account of illness. He utters paeans of praise for the Uighur Khanate and exhorts all and sundry to support it. Then he gives a fearsome account of the perilous conditions most men live in and the need for immediate repentance.

"Oh, you my disciples! Since you have come to this worship service today, you must greatly exert yourselves, joining your palms with one heart."[93] With this encouragement, the lecturer then shrives the members of the congregation of their sins. Once the filth is washed away, he says, they will have pure hearts and, in future rebirths, can be reborn in the Pure Land, there to see Amitābha. "Do you want to?" he asks them. "Can you? Excellent! Excellent!"[94] He assures his congregation that, if only they will be repentant, they will all achieve Buddhahood. On the other hand, he knows that so and so among those present from time immemorial have been doing bad things such as committing adultery, harming insects, and being discourteous to monks and nuns. But, he allows, "if this day, if this hour, facing the Buddhas of the ten directions, facing the Bodhisattvas of the ten directions, facing the sūtras of the Three Vehicles, facing the monks of the ten directions, facing all those present, you dare no longer conceal [your misdeeds] and determine to be repentant, I hope that your sins will be annihilated. Say thrice."[95]

Having finished with the repentance, the preacher moves on to instruct in the precepts, that is the Three Refuges and the Five Commandments.[96]

> You must accept the Three Refuges in order to avoid sinking into evil ways. By taking refuge in the Buddha, you avoid falling into hell; by taking refuge in the dharma, you avoid becoming a ghost; by taking refuge in the sangha, you avoid being reborn as a beast. Oh, my disciples, accept these three refuges. Can you? Do you want to? — Invoke the name of the Buddha. Buddha-putra .[97]

After calling out several times words which mean approximately the same thing as "Hallelujah," the preacher then asks (and answers) a remarkable question that is most revealing of the problems Buddhist evangelists faced in Central Asia and, to a lesser degree in China:

> Oh, my disciples, when I say 'take refuge in the Buddha,' which Buddha should you take refuge in? Neither is it the Manichaean Buddha, nor is it the Persian Buddha, it is also not the Zorastrian Buddha. Rather, it is the clear, essential Buddhahood,[98] the perfect body of reward,[99] the myriad-fold[100] transformaton body[101] of Śākyamuni Buddha.[102]

The three correct refuges having been explained and accepted, the preacher now moves on.

> Recite [the name of] the Buddha — Next, I invite the Buddhas of the ten directions to act as great witnesses while you accept the five commandments. Oh, my disciples! Can you? Do you want to? Excellent! Excellent![103]

But, before embarking upon a detailed explanation of each commandment, the lecturer engages in a most curious general interpretation of the significance in there being five

commandments:

> In the heavens, they are named the five planets;[104] on the earth, they are named the five sacred mountains;[105] in Taoism they are the five phases;[106] in Confucianism they are the Five Emperors;[107] in Buddhism they are the five commandments.[108]

The preacher then proceeds, in verse, to illustrate each commandment with concrete examples of infraction and their consequences.

Having thus communicated to his auditors through this ceremony the Three Refuges and the Five Commandments, he has formally initiated them as male and female devotees. He indicates that he would like to expatiate endlessly upon these precepts but that it would take him many kalpas and he still would not finish. "Next, I wish to sing about the sūtra for you, oh my disciples. Can I? Do you want me to? — Recite [the name of] the Buddha three or four times. — Amitābha-vyūha-sūtra. I shall explain this sūtra in three sections ...."[109] But there are still things to do before he gets down to the business of the lecture itself. Now he must pronounce an introductory eulogy on the wondrous merits of the sūtra as a whole and Mahāyāna Buddhism in general.

> As a Teacher of the Law[110] hereupon, with several gāthās and eulogies, absolve men of their sins of commission. What follows, then, is the lecture on the sūtra. Will you listen to it, congregation? Can you? Do you want to?[111]

The preacher finally restates the title of the sūtra in preparation for beginning the lecture proper. From his questionable handling of Sanskrit in this section,[112] it appears that the lecturer's (or recorder's) knowledge of Indian languages was derived through Buddhicized Central Asian languages such as Khotanese. The explanation of the title is highly prolix and unenlightening.

Yet our lecturer still cannot bring himself to begin the long-awaited lecture. Now we must hear him out on the meaning of the "T'ang (i.e., Chinese) words 'Kingdom of Unlimited Life,'" for which he offers a delightfully simplistic explanation.[113] He enumerates four other names for this land but leaves off shortly, because "there is such a host of different names that I cannot say them all."[114] But, regardless of what it is called, the lecturer's description of this marvelous land is ever so much more enchanting than the place itself could possibly be. In the Pure Land, there is no sickness, no punishment, no noxious beasts, insects, nor birds. Here, "there are no women; everyone is a man!"[115] There is no torment, for everyone is a Bodhisattva. No one has to suffer the pain of rebirth, not even chickens and salamanders, for it is all accomplished by "direct metamorphosis."[116] The vision is fanciful and utopian, but one which must have spoken with tremendous force to the common people who listened. In the Land of the Buddha of Unlimited Life,

> There are no soldiers, and no slaves. No one takes advantage of anyone else. There are no famines. There are neither kings nor officials, only Amitābha Buddha is King of the Realm, Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta Bodhisattvas are his Prime Ministers, Bhaiṣajyasamudgata and Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabhāṣa his Military Administrators,[117] and directly metamorphosized[118] youths are the population. There's no paying taxes with corn, wheat, wine, and cloth. There is only donation of flowers and incense in the mornings and presentation of Brahmanic eulogies in the evening. Men[119] don't have to go on campaigns elsewhere....[120]

The preacher rambles on aimlessly about what is pure and impure for six or seven hundred more characters, pausing at one point to interrupt himself with these words: "I'd like to say more about it, but I'm afraid of wasting time."(!)[121] Even when the manuscript breaks off, the loveable old chatterbox has still not explained a single word of the sūtra *proper*.

One can only imagine the great length of the entire service!

Another intimate religious discourse is the so-called "Lecture on the Inconstancy sūtra" (P2305). It ends with the lecturer telling his parishoners not to be put off by the somewhat tedious business of listening to the sūtras for it is that which will lead them to salvation. He enourages them to come often to the lecture hall 講院, and to be constant even in hot weather. Since he still has several more mornings to spend on the present text (if the donations do not fall off too drastically), he enjoins his listeners, "reciting the name of the Buddha, each to return to your own home and come back tommorrow to accompany me."[122] The orality of this lecture text is also evident in the abbreviation of parts of a line that recur (T663.8, 10, 12, 14, 16).

The intimate immediacy of Tun-huang popular religious texts used in conjunction with lectures is humorously evident in such passages as the following:

> What the monk said just now is true;
> Pious disciples, do not dilly-dally,
> Each of you, reciting the Buddha's name,
> return to your home,
> If you come late, don't make the old
> lady angry![123]

> The day is late and you must hurry back,
> The old lady is at home waiting to scold you.[124]

> What the Master of the Law said this morning is true;
> You who are assembled beneath my pulpit to listen,
> don't dilly-dally,
> Reciting the name of the Buddha, return to your homes,
> If you return late, the old lady'll be angry![125]

There are at least two plausible explanations for the frequent inclusion of such obvious expressions of immediacy as we have seen in the passages presented above. The first is that someone recorded the lecture on the spot with near-

stenographic rapidity. The individual who performed this task may have been a novice, a scribe, or simply an interested person. Given the long, drawn-out style of delivery of Buddhist psalmody (as can be witnessed in Chinese, Japanese, Thai, Ceylonese, and Tibetan services even today), the sung portions, at least, would not actually have required much rapidity in the recording. Furthermore, as I have shown elsewhere in this study,[126] even where strictly oral literature is involved, the verse portions, tend to be relatively stable and reproducible verbatim ac litteratim. The frequent corrections and additions on the manuscripts could be taken as evidence that someone else familiar with the lecture or even the lecturer himself recalled portions missed or misrecorded by the scribe.[127] The other possibility is that the lecturer wrote out the manuscript ahead of time to serve as notes. The corrections, deletions, and additions could then be taken as last minute changes or notes added subsequent to delivery. But this seems rather less likely than the former possibility, particularly since many of the corrections are clearly written in a second hand. The likelihood that sūtra lecture manuscripts with many indications of immediacy were written ahead of time by the lecturers themselves is further diminished when we consider the implications of a lecturer who instructs himself ahead of time to punctuate his address with such "spontaneous" interjections and exclamations as "Hallelujah!" and "Amen!" and "Praise the Lord!"

Regardless of whom, and depending on the nature of the various manuscripts, someone did take down these lectures[128] before, during, or soon after their delivery. Probably there are manuscripts which, to a certain degree, represent all three types of procedure although there is no easy way to differentiate them. The conclusion that someone was present who recorded and/or revised the lectures during their making seems unavoidable. Several of the colophons also point to this conclusion.

It must also be emphasized, however, that many other sūtra lectures (particularly those that are relatively more polished) present little or no prima facie evidence of immediacy. Their existence and nature can be explained as due to any

of the following reasons: they may be literary productions by relatively learned monks; their orality may have been refined out of them by several stages of copying after the first written exemplar of a lecture; they may represent composite literary works based on repeated hearings of the same lecture by an individual or by several individuals who consulted each other in writing them down.

Whenever it is mentioned in a colophon that the text to which it is appended has been "copied" (ch'ao 抄), we know for certain that such a text is not primary. It has to have been preceded by at least one earlier exemplar of the work in question. And there is no assurance that the earlier exemplar is necessarily primary in the sense of having been a direct recording of a storytelling session or religious lecture.

Most of what has been said in the preceding paragraphs concerning the orality and literality of sūtra lectures could with equal justice be asserted of the transformaton texts found at Tun-huang. The greater the number of corrections, additions, and deletions on a given manuscript ("degree of messiness") and the more frequent the obvious evidence of immediacy, the higher the likelihood that such a manuscript is closer to being the original written exemplar, or one of the first written exemplars, whether derived from a unique oral event or a repeated series of similar oral events. By "oral event," I intend here the performance of a transformation or the delivery of a sūtra lecture before an audience. Naturally, there is no way to quantify this information sufficiently that it may be used as an objective criterion in the study of popular literature. At best, it may serve as an impressionistic indicator of the origin of a given manuscript.

The changes and revisions found on typical transformation text manuscripts are fewer than those found on such sūtra lectures as Taiwan 32 and S6551. Where there is a small number of such emendations on the manuscript of a given transformation text, they might still be ascribed to readers who had themselves attended transformation performances and hence had their own opinion regarding the correct reading of a passage even though the manuscript in question already represented a

stage of literary transmission at several removes from the original oral event(s).

When I talk about "degree of messiness" as one indicator of derivation from an oral source, I do not mean the physical condition of the manuscript (whether torn, waterstreaked, and so on) nor the "grassiness" of the calligraphy. The messiness of which I speak refers primarily to corrections and revisions by second and third hands.

It may be objected that the manuscript of an author who writes a literary work in his study, completely devoid of any direct or indirect contact with an audience, may be fairly messy. And they often are, as a journey into the archives of any major university or library will demonstrate. The chief differences between the revisions on the manuscript of a wholly literary text and a manuscript of popular literature from Tun-huang, for example, which has direct or indirect ties to an oral event or events, are two: 1.) those on the latter, more often than not, are from hands other than the primary scribe, whereas those on the former are the marks of deliberate consideration of a single individual. 2.) The popular, orally related manuscript represents an effort, often carried out by more than one person, to determine the approximate shape and content of an actual performance or group of performances that were completed at some point in the past. Subsequent modifications of a text based on an actual performance or performances represent different opinions regarding what really transpired there. Revisions on the manuscript of a literary creation by a single author represent work-in-progress. In a sense, the work is never definitely completed until it is presented to the public. And, even then, the author or his editor(s) may — in unusual circumstances — decide to change it for future editions. The orally generated "text" is completed at the moment of delivery. What happens later is an attempt to recapture it with the utmost accuracy. Of course, this is never entirely achievable because any oral event is composed of too many variables to be described perfectly. Another characteristic of orally derived written texts is that, in the early generations of transmission, they often include unmistakable references to the presence of

an audience. In later generations, they develop the apparatus of a "simulated context"[129] even though it is then patently a fiction.

Many transformation texts, such as those on Maudgalyāyana (S2614) and Wang Chao-chün (P2553), are actually fairly neat and regular in appearance. And, indeed, the Śāriputra transformation text formerly owned by Hu Shih is in a moderately good hand. The extended narrative poem on Tung Yung 董永 (S2204), however, is less neat than any of the transformation texts just mentioned. Such manuscripts as S2614, P2553, and Hu Shih's have all the markings of being kept for purposes of reading, not as notes for or from oral recitation. Yet there are transformation texts, such as that on Chang Huai-shen 張淮深, which are notoriously difficult to read and which show 張 signs of not having fully achieved fixed form as written literature.

Those Tun-huang narratives that exist in booklet form, regardless of their genre, are relatively free of significant variants (although those which were used as copybooks by students may still be very messy and have many teacher's corrections and changes). This is true of the "Transformation on the Han General, Wang Ling" (P3627 and S5437), "The Story of the Crown Prince of the Liu House in the Former Han" (S5547), and "The Story of the Capture of Chi Pu" (S5439). This would seem to indicate that texts which had been transmitted long enough to end up as booklets were relatively stable as written literature and that readers did not feel compelled to bring to bear on them, in the form of major revisions, their own recollections of oral renditions.

When advancing the idea of the amount of untidiness of a manuscript as one possible indicator of the degree of its orality, I restrict this criterion solely to popular narratives and lectures, together with attendant prefaces and eulogistic verse. Many seat-settling texts (e.g., those on S2440), for instance, have relatively numerous corrections, which I take to be an indication of their unstable form as written literature. On the other hand, there are many and diverse reasons why a loan or contract might present a very untidy appearance, but these

have no bearing on the difficult issue of how and why oral literature came to be written down. Occasionally, some canonical and commentarial literature from Tun-huang can also be fairly slovenly. But, here again, the reasons for this slovenliness are unrelated to the question with which we are dealing. The rather unneat commentary on the Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra (copied in 764) reproduced by Yabuki (no. 22), for example, has markings for emphasis. Other Buddhist commentaries and sūtras I have seen present an irregular appearance because of added explanations, annotations, or interpretations — seldom do they express a difference of opinion regarding how a sentence or passage should read.

It is significant that most of the classical Chinese literary texts found at Tun-huang (Analects, Chuang-tzu, etc.) are comparatively free of emendations by hands other than the original copyist. This is understandable, for such texts had long histories as stable written entities. The same holds true for such texts as A Record of Researchs into Spirits (Sou-shen chi 搜神記 ; S525) which can be demonstrated to have had an existence in written form before the T'ang period. In other words, for such texts there no longer are numerous controversies over the wording of phrases and sentences. There is more likely to be disagreement on the number of sections or fascicules which properly belong to a given title and their proper order.

There is also available one other gauge of the distance of a text from its ancestral oral performance. Where there are multiple copies of a given transformation text in which the language is noticeably similar or even largely identical (the Maudgalyāyana manuscripts are the best example of this), we may aver that such affinal groups are several generations removed from the original oral event or events which were their parents. It is improbable that more than one scribe would be simultaneously involved in taking down a single performance. And, even if they were, the results would be likely to show a greater amount of variation than exists among the copies in the sort of groups to which I am referring. The relatively high degree of uniformity among them is, rather, more correctly

ascribed to the growth of a written tradition in which a standard text gradually comes to be established. This development would not, however, entirely preclude the possibility that readers of the later texts who were also familiar with oral renditions of the theme might feel qualified to make occasional changes in them.

Uncorrected phonological and/or graphical errors are not sufficient proof in themselves that a given manuscript has immediate oral derivation. Since folklorists have already demonstrated this,[130] I need not dwell upon it here. I will only mention some correlated evidence drawn from our experiences with the written English language. How many times as we were growing up did we agonize over whether ("weather"?) to write ("right"? "rite"? "wright"?) "to," "too," or "two," whether "bow" or "bough" is correct and why we cannot spell ("*spale," "*spele," "*spail," "*spal," "spill," "*spil," "*speil," "*spel," etc.) "*nite" instead of "night" or "knight"?[131] And why is it necessary for secretaries, editors, and writers to keep on their desks books which list those words which are most often misspelled? The answer is obvious. These difficulties, furthermore, are magnified tremendously for those who are forced to use an ideographic writing system. Such a system, after long years of evolution, includes thousands of ideograms which give only the barest phonological clues and whose shapes appear largely to be arbitrary to anyone not deeply learned in philology. Therefore we may not ascribe orality to a Tun-huang manuscript when it has 烈 but means 列, has 暮 when it means 慕, 陪 when it means 倍, and so on.

Nor is use of colloquial language in a written text grounds for declaring that text to have a particularly close relationship to an oral presentation. Colloquial language, rather than literary Chinese, is used as the vehicle of written literature more for sociological reasons than for any presumed attempt to capture for posterity a specific oral event. Someone chooses (or is forced) to write in colloquial either because he has insufficient training to write proper literary Chinese or because, though able to employ literary styles, he wishes (perhaps only temporarily) to identify with or ridicule

those who are incapable of doing so.

Before closing this chapter on the corpus of pien-wen, there are still several Tun-huang genres which have often been confused with it that need to be discussed briefly.

The characteristics of the Tun-huang popular relgious literary genre known as yüan-ch'i ("[tale of] conditional origin," "conditional causation," "[co-]dependent origination," or "conditioned co-arising," cf. Skt. pratīya-samutpanna, pratīya-samutpāda, pratyayaudbhava, etc.; as literary genres, these texts are more properly referred to as avadāna and nidāna)[132] are determinable because at least one manuscript (P2193) exists with this designation in the title, the Maudgalyālyana yüan-ch'i 目連緣起 . In many respects, it resembles pien-wen except that it is more overtly moralistic and lacks the verse introductory formula. Su Ying-hui states[133] that pien-wen are amplifications of yüan-ch'i but offers no evidence to support this claim.

From the ending of the "Maudgalyāyana Nidāna" (P2193), we know that this type of popular religious narrative was presented on the day before a sūtra lecture:

> Today I've proclaimed for you this matter,
> Come early tommorrow morning to hear the real sūtra.[134]

This interpretation is reinforced by the ending of another, untitled, avadāna or nidāna:

> Stand before the steps with your palms joined
> together and take a gāthā,
> Tommorrow when you hear the bell, come early to listen.[135]

What he might say the next morning during the reading of the seat-settling text and before the actual sūtra lecture is something like this:

> This morning I intend to speak on this profound sūtra;
> I only wish that compassion will visit us here,

So that the sins of the audience who listen to the sūtra will be wiped clean.[136]

Similar to the yüan-ch'i but more resembling certain sūtra lectures than it does pien-wen is a text designated on the manuscript (split into a fragment formerly owned by Lo Chen-yü and P3375v) as a yüan ("occasion," pratyaya), the "Nidāna on the King of Abhirati" 歡喜國王緣 (end title, T780.14). It is noteworthy that the same musical notations which mark the verse portions of this text ("cantillate" [yin 吟], "slant" [ts'e 側], "break" [tuan 斷], etc.)[137] also occur in one of the lectures on the Vimalakīrti sūtra (formerly in the possesion of Lo Chen-yü, T634ff).

Another text with the same musical or prosodic notations is the "Autumn Cantillation, One Text" 秋吟一本. The prose portions occupy a relatively minor percentage of this piece which is rather more descriptive than narrative. In regard to the possible significance of the notations, it should be remarked that there are repeated references in this piece to gāthās (偈 "stanzas") and stotras (讚 "eulogies"), and that it is immediately preceded on the manuscript (P3618) by a Sanskritic hymn.[138] Hence, one possible assumption to be made is that the notations are expressive of certain types of Indic psalmody as rendered in the Chinese language. The respectful references in Tun-huang popular religious texts to "Brahmanic sounds" 梵音/語云 are frequent (e.g., T504.7, 605.2, 646.2, 652.4, etc.). It would seem that the Buddhist community there and elsewhere[139] considered it a sacred language and that they sought to mimic its intonations.

There can be no doubt whatsoever that portions of sūtra lectures were sung. Ryūkoku 龍谷 University manuscript 021.1-26.1, which has as its actual title "Causation and Occasion (Skt. hetupratyaya, nidāna, or avadāna) of Prince Siddhārta's Cultivation of the Way" 悉達太子修道因緣 is a case in point.[140] It is interesting to observe, in regard to the musical qualities of popular lectures, that the following note is set off from the rest of the text like a set of directions:

> In any event, the Master of the Law who gives lectures and holds discussions is sort of like a music official 樂官. Each time, he must modulate the tunes to be used with the lyrics 調置曲詞. That which he pronounced just now was the "Prince Siddhārtha Seat-Settling Text." Let us watch as the Master of the Law explains the meaning.[141]

The musical ability of the assistant to the sūtra lecturer is brought out in the following portion of a lecture on the Amitābha-sūtra (P2955):

> The cantor-ācārya[142] is a man of great virtue,
> His tones are clear and he can modulate them;
> With a pleasant sound, he descants gracefully in the kung and shang modes,
> Now I request him to sing aloud [the next passage from the sūtra].[143]

There is also every likelihood that the verse portions of the oral antecedents of pien-wen were sung in performance. All the evidence provided by other Asian analogues and by study of later historical developments deriving from pien-wen point to this conclusion. It is well-known that heptasyllabic verse,[144] which is the typical pien-wen verse length, may be readily sung to canto and lyric meters by using such techniques as padding words, repetition of syllables, and so on.

A key text for understanding the relationships among the various popular Buddhist literary genres designated as pien, yüan, yin-yüan, and yüan-ch'i is the series of related manuscripts (S4511, P3048, S2114v, P3592, and P2945v) which present the story of the ugly girl who, because of her faith in the Buddha, is transformed into a beautiful woman. In form, the text as assembled by the T editors (T787-800), has a strong resemblance to the so-called "Eight Aspects pien" and the "Destruction of the Transformations of Demons" discussed

above. All three texts employ the verse introductory formula "At that time, what words did he say?" and the formula for abbreviation 云云. The proportion of verse to prose and the narrative style are also similar. The head title on S4511 is "The Causation and Occasion of Vajrā, the Ugly Girl, One Text" 金剛醜女因緣一本, on S2114 is "The Occasion of the Ugly Girl Vajrā," 醜女金剛緣, and on P3048 is "The Conditional Origin of the Ugly Girl" 醜女緣起. The sources of the Tun-huang story in The Sūtra of One Hundred Occasions 百緣經 and The Sūtra of the Treasures of Assorted Jewels 雜寶藏經 are, respectively, entitled "Occasion of the Ugly Daughter of King Prasenajit" 波斯匿王醜女緣 and "Occasion of the Ugly Girl Raktikā (or Retti?)" 醜女賴提緣.[145] But here the appellation yüan ("occasion") is less a literary designation than it is a doctrinal one. Hence, we may observe that, while the Tun-huang stories designated as yüan are derived from the sections of the nidāna and avadāna (metaphorical, illustrative) literature in the Mahāyana canon dealing with causation, the term itself becomes fixed as a literary designation in Tun-huang usage. The parallels with the doctrinal and literary significations of pien are valuable in our attempts to understand how the latter word functions in the milieu of Chinese popular and folk Buddhism.

One last, but important, observation about the Tun-huang story of the ugly girl which needs to be made is that, at the end of P3048, the following six characters are found: 上來所說醜變. Gramatically, this text breaks off in mid-sentence ("The transformation of ugliness which was told above..."). It is, therefore, impossible to construe pien here as a generic designation. It refers, rather, quite literally to the miraculous transformation of the ugly girl into a beautiful woman (T798.1ff).

The final category of Tun-huang popular literary texts to be discussed is ya-tso wen 押座文 ("seat-settling text").[146] S2440 includes six different seat-settling texts, most with titles positively identifying them as such. All end with a phrase indicating that they are to be followed by the singing, with an attitude of reverence, of the title of

the sūtra to be lectured on that day. Thus, it is virtually certain that ya-tso wen were meant primarily to function as a sort of introit for religious services in which the main item was a sūtra lecture. The oral quality of these texts is obvious from such directions as "repeat" 重述 (T830.15), "say aloud 'Bodhisattva Buddhaputra'" 念菩薩佛子 (T829.4), and so forth. The existence of numerous texts of a homogeneous nature and purpose having the designation ya-tso wen is adequate proof that it should be considered as a fixed, discrete genre of T'ang period popular Buddhist literature. It is not a subtype of pien-wen.

Chapter Four Form, Formula, and Features of Transformations

In the previous chapter, we considered the question of how many extant pien-wen there are. This involved distinguishing pien-wen from other types of Tun-huang popular literature. In so doing, certain identifying features of pien-wen were mentioned, such as the pre-verse formula, the prosimetric form, and a necessary relationship to illustrations. The purpose of this chapter is to describe these features and their functions in greater detail.

The basic transformation text verse introductory formula may be conceived of as "[Please look for a moment at the] place [where] X [occurs]. How [should I] present [it]?" [且看][1] X 處 , 若為[2] 陳 [說]?[3] There can be little question that this formula must be normally considered as having constituted, in the minds of the T'ang and Five Dynasties periods individuals who are responsible for the transformation text manuscripts that have come down to us, an identifying feature of the genre which they consistently referred to as pien or pien-wen.[4] The formula occurs with methodical regularity in the overwhelming majority of texts which bear titles that specifically designate them to be pien or pien-wen. To ignore this fact is to pretend that ninth- and tenth-century writers were capricious and meant nothing at all by their repeated use of these words in the titles they gave to a certain type of narrative. It should be evident that the words pien and pien-wen in these titles were intended to serve as designations of a particular literary genre. Our task now is no longer to debate this issue but to see how the verse introductory formula worked, to attempt to discover its origins, and to say something about its survival in later literature.

Perhaps the best way to begin is with a discussion of the origins of the word ch'u in the pien-wen verse introductory formula. There is compelling evidence that it derives from inscriptions on paintings identifying individual scenes. On a recent trip to Tun-huang, I spotted in the lower left corner of the north wall of cave 17 bis (Pelliot number, 156 in the

Tun-huang Institute numbering system; dating from the late T'ang) these three characters: 飛鳴處 ("The place where [it?] is flying and singing.")[5] The west wall of cave 117 (Tun-huang Institute no. 61; a Sung painting) depicts the miraculous events associated with Mañjuśrī at Five Terraces Mountain (Wu-t'ai shan 五臺山 , Pañcaśīrṣa or Pañcaśikha). One of the cartouches reads: "The place where a golden bridge is made to appear through transformation." 化金橋(=橋)現處(=處).[6] Although I suspect there are many more, the only other occurrences known to me of ch'u at the end of a narrative label on the Tun-huang wall-paintings are those mentioned by Kawaguchi Hisao. He has recorded[7] two inscriptions from cartouches of a wall-painting depicting scenes from the Buddha's life that is on the east wall of Tun-huang cave 102 (Pelliot number; Tun-huang Institute no. 76): "The place where the Crown Prince, in the Himalayas, has his hair shaved off" 太子雪山落髮處 and "The place where he bathes in the river with lotuses (?) growing out of the mud" 泥連(⟶蓮?)河澡浴處 . I recorded the following inscriptions from the right portion (at the top) of the east wall of the same cave during my 1981 summer trip to Tun-huang:

> The place where he bathes in the Hiraṇyavatī River.
> 熙(=熙)連河澡浴處 (probably the same as Kawaguchi's second inscription).
>
> The place where the Crown Prince undergoes six years of austerities.
> 太子六年苦行處
>
> The place where he teaches and converts five brothers
> 教化昆季五人處
>
> [The place where] the Crown Prince crosses the city wall in the middle of the night.
> 太子夜半逾城 (no ch'u)
>
> The time when the five mendicant monks (bhikṣu) hear

the four noble truths (catvāri ārya-satyāni) and the Wheel of the Law (Dharma-cakra, i.e., the doctrine of the Buddha which is able to roll over all evil). 五比丘聞四諦法輪時

Tun-huang manuscript P3317 provides confirmative evidence for this interpretation of ch'u ("place") functioning as a marker of narrative locus. It is a list of 118 events in the Buddha's life based on nidānas from the third and following fascicles of the Buddhacārita 佛本行集經第三卷已(→以)下緣起簡子目號. These short tags, averaging approximately ten characters in length, each end in the word "place" (ch'u). They would have been suitable for cartouches on a transformation tableau or for the first part of pre-verse formulas in a transformation text dealing with the life of the Buddha. They are written in an undistinguished hand.

S6320 is a long strip of paper with an inscription honoring Vaiśravaṇa 毗沙門 and Dhṛtarāṣṭra (?) 樓略叉 that ends in ch'u. It is probably a label for a painting, a statue, or a temporary altar.

A woodblock print text from Kiangsu,[8] dating to c. 1104 and entitled Dhāraṇī sūtra 陀羅尼經, includes illustrations. Among the inscriptions for these illustrations is the following: "This is the place where the official borrows money from the abbot of the Monastery of Pervading Light and the Abbot orders the little monk to divide it up and give it to him." 官人從普光寺主借錢，寺主令小和尚分付處.

A set of transformation tableaux illustrating the Lotus sūtra,[9] probably dating from the end of the Northern Sung or the beginning of the Southern Sung, has cartouches with inscriptions describing the events depicted; one of these ends with the word ch'u.

Kameta Tsutomu has compiled a list[10] of the identifying inscriptions of scenes on the narrative picture scrolls depicting the founding of the Avataṃsa school of Buddhism. Many of these inscriptions end with the word tokoro ところ.[11]

Some of the scrolls date from the early thirteenth century.

There is preserved in Japan an important illustrated scroll entitled Bussetsu Mokuren kyūbo kyō [Sūtra on Maudgalyāyana's Saving of His Mother] 佛說目連救母經.[12] A colophon at the end states that it is a reprint of the same type of scripture printed in the fifth month of 1251 in Yüan China.[13] The reprinting itself was undertaken on a date equivalent to July 15, 1346 in Kyoto. The scroll has the format of a fully illustrated expository tale (ch'üan-hsiang p'ing-hua 全相平話) with pictures on the top and a popularized version of the scripture on the bottom. We should also note that the scroll dates from the same period as that of the greatest popularity of p'ing-hua ("expository tales"). It is, furthermore, not insignificant that the subject of this scroll is also the most popular of all Tun-huang transformation texts. What is particularly interesting about this scroll, however, is that there are cartouches on the pictures and that the inscriptions therein usually consist of a short description of the scene depicted that ends with the word tokoro 処 (處 "place"). For example, "The place where preparations are made for the Feast of Hungry Ghosts" 造盂蘭盆処 and "The place where Maudgalyāyana's mother receives the precepts in front of the Buddha and is reborn in heaven" 目連母於佛前受戒得生天処, etc. Surely this usage has a direct relationship to the ch'u in the verse introductory formula of transformation texts.[14] This lends credence to the theory that transformation texts grew out of a narrative tradition that was closely tied to pictorial illustrations.

An anonymous twelth-century narrative handscroll in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art is entitled "Picture of [Chao Yü's] Pacification of the Barbarians South of Lu" 瀘南平夷圖.[15] The various scenes are labeled thus: "This section depicts the matter of X" 此段畫 X 事. Here shih 事 functions in a similar fashion to ch'u in Buddhist paintings and may possibly be related to it in some manner.

An illustrated Pulsŏl Amita-gyŏng 佛說阿彌陀經, published in Korean in 1572, consists of pages that are one-half

picture and one-half text, very much in the fashion of expository tales (p'ing-hua). Each picture has an inscription which describes its contents and ends with the word vyūha 莊嚴. Hence, "[This is] the spiritually adorned scene in which X [happens]." In this case, vyūha is used in the same way as ch'u (tokoro) on Buddhist narrative paintings in China and in Japan.

In the "Transformation on the Han General Wang Ling," there is an extremely important textual problem relating to the meanings of pien and ch'u which must be discussed in detail. This occurs on T3b.11. I will first translate the passage following the Peking University Library manuscript (p. 9, lines 3-4) formerly owned by Shao Hsün-mei: "[This is] the place where the two generals took leave of the king and went to destroy the encampment. From this picture [lit. 'layout' or 'spread'] is thence the beginning [following the T editors; the manuscript has 'division'] of the transformation." 二將辭王便往斫營(= 營)處從此一鋪便是變切 (Tun-huang orthographical form of 切 ⟶ 初 ?). S5437 has "...the place where they destroy the encampment. With this one turn [of the picture scroll] is thence the beginning of the transformation." 斫營處從此一轉(= 轉)便是變初. P3627 has "...a layout of the place where they destroy the encampment is thence the beginning of the place (→ transformation)." 斫營處一鋪便是處(⟶ 變)初. Comparison of the three versions leads me to the conclusion that there was some semantic overlap between ch'u and pien because they cannot be confused orthographically or phonically.[16] This overlap, plus the simultaneous occurrence of p'u 鋪 ("pictorial/illustrative layout/spread") in the same sentence, offers strong supporting evidence for my contention that both ch'u and pien have intimately to do with pictures. The fact that the end title of P3867 (T47.2) also includes the word p'u in combination with pien is further evidence of this connection.[17]

In cases where the word "look" (k'an 看) precedes it, ch'u in the transformation text pre-verse formula cannot but be considered as a (vestigial) reference to a picture or,

perhaps more accurately, a part of or a point on a picture. For a reader of written transformation texts without accompanying picture scrolls, the simulated context whould have evoked the meaning "place [on a painting]," hence "[visualized] scene." But the extended meaning comes simply to be "place or point in a narrative context." The shift to a temporal signification is evident.

That the notion "place" in narrative contexts can have a temporal meaning is also known from the fact that Japanese tokoro 處 has both spatial and temporal meanings. In Japanese "epistolary style" (sōrōbun 候文) and in certain other styles, tokoro has a very intriguing sequential usage. Since at least the year 1016 it has been employed as a conjunction which serves to connect the narration of a given clause with its succeeding clause.[18] The development of this usage seems to have been as follows: "at the [narrative] locus where x happened" > "at the [narrative] moment when x happened" > "after/when x happened, then y occurred." The first stage resembles very much the transformation text usage of ch'u as a narrative sequential marker and might conceivably have been influenced by it.

About the same time as this usage of tokoro arose in Japan, ch'u in China also begins to function as a mark of narrative sequence in the written, colloquial language. This is evident from Zen historical records and dialogues as well as from such neo-Confucian texts as the Classified Conversations of Chu Hsi.[19] That this peculiar usage of ch'u and tokoro as narrative sequential marks developed in a Buddhist environment seems obvious. For ch'u in Tun-huang texts other than pien-wen with the denotation "locus (here, of course, not pictorially illustrated)" but still with a temporal or sequential connotation, see T441.10, 525.12, 623.11, 652.15 [in the past], etc.

In the Śikṣasamuccaya, compiled by Śāntideva during the seventh century,[20] there are two occurrences[21] of the word

viṭhapana which may be of value in explaining the connection between illusory creation (i.e., representation) and place (locus). In both instances[22] Sanskrit māyā is rendered in Chinese by Dharmakīrti as 幻化 and viṭhapana as 處 . As such, I believe that Edgerton is justified in rendering viṭhapana in BHS as "fixation, establishment, creation, making; especially with implication of something illusory and fleeting." Significantly, viṭhapana has also been expressed in Chinese as "transformational manifestation" (pien-hsien 變現). This is helpful in our efforts to understand the original meaning of ch'u in the pien-wen pre-verse formula.

The variations of the pre-verse formula in the "Transformation on the Han General Wang Ling" (T38.10 ...處謹[carefully]為陳說; 39.11-12 而 [and]為轉[23]說 ; 41.3 處若為[how] 陳說 ; 42.4-5 遂 [thereupon]為陳說 ; 43.6 若為陳說 ; 45.10 而為轉說 ; and 46.12 處若為陳說)[24] allow us to conclude that the actual interrogatory force of the formula is almost nil. Compare also T99.15 ... 處有 [there is]為陳 of the Wang Chao-chün transformation text. It is at most a perfunctory utterance that probably derives from such storyteller's phrases as "How should I put it?" "How does it go?" or "This is how it goes."

Rhetorical questions of this nature also frequently appear in the expository tales (p'ing-hua). I have brought together a few examples[25] to give some indication of their nature:

> "How high did it appear?" 怎見得高 ? (before verse).
>
> "It was the second watch of the night and the moon was bright as day. How did it appear?" 夜色二更，月明如晝，如何見得 ? (before verse).
>
> "How was that banquet" 那筵會如何 ? (before set piece).
>
> "What did she say?" 說個甚的 ? (before verse).
>
> "What were the four sentences he spoke?" 那四句道甚麼 ? (before verse).
>
> "How did he speak?" 怎道 (before direct discourse, two occurrences).

"See (!) that Commandant in Charge [of the Northern Capital] at that time (!) he is sitting in the court, what is it like?" 看那留守坐廳時如何？

The continuation of such verse introductory formulas is also to be found in the later vernacular short-story in such expressions as "all [he] saw was" (tan chien 但見), "there is a poem as evidence" (yu shih wei cheng 有詩為證), etc.

An interesting variant of the pre-verse formula is to be found in a fragmentary manuscript dealing with the Crown Prince's (i.e., the Buddha's) achievement of the way that is kept in the Nara Art Museum 寧樂美術館.[26] It is not certain that this manuscript is from Tun-huang but it does bear a strong resemblance to many texts recovered there. The formula in question reads thus: "How can it be explained? [This is] the place where the seer examines him for the auspicious marks of a Buddha." 若河(→何)解說？仙人占相處.[27] Notice how it presents a curious reversal of the usual pien-wen verse introductory formula.

It is apparent that ch'u, both at the end of inscriptions on paintings and in the transformation text verse introductory formula, means approximately "[narrative] locus [pictorially represented or visualized]." This interpretation is substantiated by the frequently encountered parallel, Buddhist usage in texts and on paintings of shih 時 as "[narrative] moment [pictorially represented or visualized]."[28]

The expression "the time when ..." (shih) is often used in inscriptions. For example, in cave 106 (Tun-huang Insitute no. 72), there are scenes from the Mahāsattva Jātaka. One of the inscriptions reads: "At that time [lit.: The time when at that time!], [Mahā]sattva decided to sacrifice himself and, unhesitatingly, removed his clothing and hung it on the branch of a tree." 尒時薩埵決定捨身而無疑悔即脫衣服掛在樹枝時. Note what appears to be a redundancy of shih. I believe, however, that in the second occurrence it is functioning as a quasi-ablative grammatical inflection. "The place where ..." (ch'u) in similar inscriptions can be considered the same sort of device used as a quasi-locative.

This is a resourcefully ingenious invention that has other parallels in the development of the Chinese language under the massive impact of Sanskritically expressed Buddhism.[29]

In cave nine of the Western Caves of the Thousand Buddhas 西千佛洞, in the middle of the right wall on the south side, there is a painting of the biography of the Buddha in a former life as Śāmaka 睒魔. This cave includes paintings from the early T'ang, Sung, and Uighur periods as well as the only Sui painting of the Śāriputra contest with the Six Heretics. Śāmaka was "a bodhisattva born to a blind couple, clad in deerskin, slain by the king in hunting, restored to life and to his blind parents by the gods."[30] An inscription on the painting reads[31] as follows: "Śāmaka led his blind father and mother.... [This is] the time when he made a grass hut and picked sweet fruits to nourish his parents." 睒子將盲父母....作草屋採甘草供養父母時.

Many other examples[32] of shih being used as a mark of narrative moment can be found at Tun-huang. On the east wall of cave 10, there are altogether eleven panels which illustrate the story of the construction of the Jetavana Garden. Each of the panels bears an inscription that ends with the marker shih. The first panel, for example, reads as follows: "The time when the elder Sudatta took leave of the Buddha and was about to go towards the city of Śrāvastī to build a monastery, and the Buddha told Śāriputra to construct the monastery with Sudatta so he took leave of the Buddha." 須達長者辭佛[將]向舍衛國[造]精舍，佛[告]舍利弗共[須][達]建告(→造)精舍，辭佛之時.[33]

In cave 98 there are even more detailed inscriptions of the magic contest: "The time when the heretic, Raudrākṣa, produced through transformation a great tree and asked Śāriputra how many leaves it had and how deep its roots were." 外道勞度差變作大樹問舍利弗其葉數其根深淺時. "The time when Śāriputra, after having answered how many leaves there were, conjures a great snake which pulls up the tree." 舍利弗答葉數訖，化作大蛇拔樹時. "The time

when the Wind Spirit angrily releases his wind to blow at Raudrākṣa." 風神鎮(⟶震?)怒放風吹勞度差時. "The time when the heretics, blown by the wind, anxiously cover their faces." 外道被風吹急遮面時, and so on.[34] In each case, the inscription ends with the narrative sequence mark shih.[35] Although I have translated this as "the time when" in English, the sense of this mark is actually far less explicit. In an almost nonverbal way, it means, rather, something like X [sequential event which occurred at a given] time [is here depicted/explained]. When similar inscriptions bear the narrative sequence mark ch'u, we should interpret thusly: X [sequential event which occurred at a given] place [is here depicted/explained]. The italicized words represent the primarily implicit semantic content of 時 and 處. The "event" portrayed may not be simply a single incident but may actually consist of several disparate incidents compressed into a larger entity. The given "time" and "place" are hence correspondingly stretched to include the total span of durational or spatial occurrence.

One of the most interesting wall-paintings with inscriptions of this type is to be found in cave 128 at Tun-huang. It is rather large and dates from the "high" T'ang period. On the north wall, there is a series of narrative paintings, one of which is about Chang Ch'ien's 張騫 mission to the Western Regions during the reign of Han Wu-ti (140-87 B.I.E.). The inscriptions read as follows:

> The time during the former Han when Chung-tsung (!) obtained a golden man[36] but no one knew its name, so he sent the Marquis of Extensive Vision, Chang Ch'ien, to the kingdom of Fer ghana[37] in the Western Regions to inquire about its [i.e., the Buddha's] name.
>
> The time when the Martial Emperor (Wu-ti) of the Han led his hosts to punish the Huns and obtained two golden men that were more than ten feet tall; he had them placed in the Sweet Springs Palace; the Emperor considered them to be great deities and often

went to worship them.[38]

An unusual usage of the narrative sequence mark shih may be seen in cave 300 at Tun-huang. Here we find[39] portaits of devotees, each with identifying inscriptions that end in shih. This usage seems to transcend both the primary meaning ("time") and secondary significance ("narrative moment") of shih; it appears, rather, to function here simply as a tag to end the inscription.

An anonymous eighth-century silk banner (36.8 x 17.6 cm)[40] from Tun-huang preserved in the British Museum depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha also employs the narrative sequence mark shih. Altogether, there should be four scenes of the Crown Prince going out of the palace gates on his white horse and observing an old man, a sick person, a corpse, and a monk (bhikṣu). Only the first two survive. Of these I translate the first as an example of the usage of shih in the inscriptions of such banners: "[This is the] time [in the narrative sequence which depicts] that time[41] [when the] Crown Prince[42] went forth from the east gate of the city-wall and, seeing an elderly man, asked about the primary and secondary causes[43] [of old age.]" 爾時太子出城東門觀見老人問因緣時. The second inscription has an identical form.

The same shih occurs at the end of a fragmentary explanatory inscription on a silk drawing[44] of the Buddha recovered from Toyuk in Central Asia. It is impossible to determine with absolute certainty whether this represents a borrowing of a device that had developed in China proper or a Chinese adaptation in areas bordering on Central Asia of Sanskritic, Iranian, or Turkic narrative inscriptions. The generally earlier date of the latter, the fact that Buddhist art and literature entered China from the west, and other evidence that I shall present in the chapter on Central Asian influence on pien storytelling, all point to the latter possibility as being the more likely of the two.

The use of shih as a narrative sequence mark can also be found in manuscripts. S4527 has a description of the contest

between Śāriputra and the six heretics in which individual narrative moments are marked shih, e.g.: "The time when the wind breaks the strings of the canopy and the heretics try to tie them down." 風吹幢帳繩斷，外道卻欲繫時. "The time when the wind is about to blow the canopy over and the heretics take a ladder and think what to do." 風吹幢帳欲倒，外道將梯想時, etc. This is probably a list of scenes that are keyed to a set of narrative illustrations.

It is thought-provoking to consider that the episodes in the "Sūtra of the Crown Prince's Attainment of the Way" 太子成道經 are labelled on P2299 as "Such-and-such an appearance (hsiang 相)."[45] When we remember that these very scenes were acted out by a troupe of dancers (as is evident from S2440v);[46] when we recall that the titles of the chapters of the Tale Interspersed with Poetry on Tripiṭaka of the Great T'ang Dynasty Retrieving the Buddhist Sūtras 大唐三藏取經詩話 are labelled as ch'u ("narrative locus"); and when we reflect on the genetic relationship between pien-wen with its succession of ch'u and pien-hsiang with its succession of shih ("moments"); we can see that hsiang may refer to the episodes of a narrative dramatically represented, just as ch'u and shih may refer to the episodes of a narrative pictorially, sculpturally, or verbally represented.

At Barhut (in India), many of the sculptures have identifying labels inscribed on them. Yet, as Barua tells us,

> The Barhut artists were not very judicious in their use of the labels. For in the same row of [c]oping-panels one finds that if a scene in one panel is inscribed, the one in the next panel is not.... And yet in reviewing the sculptures...one is apt to feel that in theory all were intended to be labelled, the omissions being due to oversight or negligence on the part of the artists. Thus if the Barhut examples are worth...anything, they seem to indicate a transitional

> stage when the practice of labelling the sculptures became optional.[47]

Barhut is fairly early (third-second century B.I.E.). Later, it became the custom not to affix labels to Buddhist sculptures and frescoes such as at Bodh Gayā, Sāñchi, Mathurā, Taxila, Amarāvatī, Sarnath, Karle, and Ajantā.

Of the narrative statuary at Barhut which is provided with labels describing the scene depicted, we find, for example, that a medallion carving is labelled with the words "Anāthapiṇḍika dedicates Prince Jeta's Garden after purchasing it with a layer of crores." Jetavana Anādhapeḍiko deti koṭisaṃthatena keto.[48] A small coping-panel reads "The Jātaka-scene relating to Mahādeva." Maghādeviya-Jātakaṃ.[49] And a small bas-relief has the tag "A Jātaka-episode of the Kinnaras." Ki[ṃ]nara-Jātakaṃ.[50] Nowhere in any of these inscriptions known to me do we find a word like "the place [where]..." (ch'u 處)[51] or "the time [when]..." (shih 時). My inclination, as expressed less explicitly above, is to believe that these latter are Chinese inventions and that they were intended:

1. to approximate, respectively, the locative and ablative cases in Sanskrit or other inflected Buddhist languages, and
2. to designate narrative moment and locus.

We must now consider the difficult question of whether or not the pre-verse formula in transformation texts should be counted as straightforward evidence of orality. On the one hand, such a formula is less straightforward than the direct addresses to the audience which we encounter so frequently in some of the sūtra lectures. On the other hand, it would appear that the pre-verse formula is an attempt to convey the impression of an oral context, hence the transformation texts may, to greater or less degree, be said to derive from oral literature. In considering the degree of orality of a given transformation text, it is necessary to

examine it on the basis of the following criteria: frequency of corrections, deletions, additions, etc.; whether these are by the original scribe or by others; indications of immediacy; gaps in the text; imperfect rhyme patterns; obviously missing lines from the verse sections; poor or hurried quality of the calligraphy; irregular spacing of lines; illogical sentences and passages; non sequiturs; needless repetitions; lack of a colophon stating that the text is a copy; and so on. I have already discussed the significance of revisions of a text by subsequent hands.[52] The most obvious evidence of immediacy in transformation texts in general would seem to be the verse introductory formula. Of the many variations of this formula, I consider the extended forms ("Look at the place where X occurs; how shall [I] explain it?") to be relatively stronger evidence of close relationship to a spoken presentation. But this is a very complicated issue and I shall return to it later. Gaps in the text indicate either that the recorder fell behind in his transcription, that he (or they) had faulty recollection of the oral event, or simply sheer negligence on the part of the copyist. The same holds for imperfect rhyme sequence, missing verse, illogical passages, false starts, and other comparable features. As for the presence of a colophon stating that the manuscript is a "copy" of a given text, this is direct proof that there must have been at least one other intermediary written stage between the oral event(s) and the manuscript in question. It is logical to assume that there would be a tendency for all but one of these criteria gradually to be refined out of a text with each successive copying and rewriting. The nearer an orally derived text is to its source of inspiration, the more fluid it will be because the oral exemplar changes with each retelling. Conversely, a text that has been written, rewritten, and copied several times gradually takes on a fixed form. This is as true of Homer's Iliad and Odyssey, the Buddhist canon, and Shakespeare's plays as it is of transformation texts and sūtra lectures. The exception, as we shall see, is the pre-verse formula which would, after

regularization, be retained as a conscious attempt to maintain the appearance of orality. It is possible, but improbable, that a text possessing all of these features might not have had any connection with an actual oral event. It is still more highly improbable that such a text would never have been intended for spoken delivery. In fact, about the only situation I can imagine which would account for the existence of such a text is that it was hurriedly written expressly for delivery by an inexperienced speaker who had to remind himself even when to address his auditors with questions but that the event aborted or was cancelled.

No one of these criteria by itself may be taken as evidence of orality. If, however, a large number of these features are discovered in a given text, the probability of closeness to an oral event is enhanced. Judged by these standards, none of the transformation text manuscripts which I have examined approach the less sophisticated sūtra lectures as being demonstrably derived from or related to an oral setting. Indeed some of the transformation texts are rather well written and virtually free of revisions. Texts such as the Tun-huang Wu Tzu-hsü story or the "Tale of the Honorable [Hui-]yüan of Lu Mountain" 廬山遠公話,[53] again judged by these standards, are even further removed from the original oral event(s) which, presumably, were their inspiration, though they may only have existed as written texts from their very beginning.

The overall impression one gains from the available data is that the majority of transformation texts, evolutionally speaking, were already several generations removed from the seminal oral performances which led to their birth. Conversely, the less sophisticated sūtra lectures have all the earmarks of being in the first generation of descendants from their original oral parent(s). Few Tun-huang manuscripts of popular literature that I have examined rival Taiwan 32 in terms of outright messiness. It is also significant that the quotative formula ("Please sing" or "Now I shall begin singing") appears only infrequently in the less sophisticated sūtra lectures whereas it occurs with fixed

regularity in the more polished ones. Likewise, I have deep suspicions against admitting the transformation text verse introductory formula as evidence of direct derivation from oral performance on the grounds that it is too obligatory. No other form of storytelling with pictures anywhere in the world that I am aware of employs this kind of formula with such fixed regularity. The very fact that it is required with such constancy smacks of literary convention rather than oral improvisation. This is not to deny, however, that the verse introductory formula in all likelihood is a reflection and stylization of actual phrases customarily but not compulsorily employed by picture storytellers. Storyteller's phrases in Ming and Ch'ing vernacular short stories, even more so than the verse introductory formula of transformation texts and the quotation formula of the more polished sūtra lectures, are perfunctory and stereotypic. In the very conscious effort to convey immediacy through these and other devices which constitute the "simulated context," the true nature of such late stories as written literature is revealed.

** * **

The second of the chief identifying features of pien-wen is their prosimetric form. I have decided to follow the Prague school of Sinology in using the English word "prosimetric(al)" rather than the French chantefable. In the first place, although students of comparative literature have used the latter word to refer to any narrative work which alternates between verse and prose, it originally signified a specific type of medieval French narrative. In fact, the term occurs only once in medieval French literature, at the end of the thirteenth-century Aucassin et Nicolette: "No chantefable prent fin. (Our chantefable comes to an end." It apparently means "[piece to] sing-speak" and derives from the nominal form of the Middle French verbs canter ("to sing") and fabler ("to relate").[54] On the other hand, "prosimetric" has a known Latin derivation

(prōsimetricus) that fits the purpose for which we intend to use it. And, while obsolete for the last 300 years, it was long ago adopted into the English language. According to Thomas Blount's Glossographia (1656), "prosimetrical" means "consisting partly of Prose, partly of Meeter or Verse."[55] The alternation of prose and verse may be referred to in Sanskrit as miśrakam ("mixed; not prose; various; manifold").[56] In Tibetan, the equivalent of miśrakam is spel-ma.[57] This term is inaccurately and misleadingly translated in the Chinese section of the Mahāvyutpatti (no. 1456) as "long and short lines" 長短句, i.e., "lyric verse" 詞.[58] Campū, a term of obscure origins dating from the tenth century I.E., was used by Daṇḍin in Kāvyādarśa (i.31)[59] to designate the alternating prose and verse form of narrative. But the alternation of prose and verse in Indian narration is so pervasive that rarely do literary critics find it necessary to give it a special name.

One other preliminary observation regarding my use of the word "prosimetric" needs to be made. While it is permissible to describe pien-wen as prosimetric in form, it must be emphasized that this is in no sense a translation of the term itself. I have discussed the problem of the meaning of pien-wen as "transformation text" at length in chapters two and three.

The first problem concerning the prosimetric narrative form is, naturally, its origin. Examination of the available evidence can only lead to the conclusion that it was not present in Chinese literature before the introduction of Buddhism. But the issue of the origins of the prosimetric form in China has been so hotly debated that we cannot ignore the counterclaims of those who insist that it has a native source. I shall begin by reviewing the arguments of those who believe that the form was not borrowed from abroad.

Though half-a-century ago Buddhist importation was considered to be the most reasonable explanation for the sudden and unprecedented appearance of extended prosimetric narrative during the T'ang period, some later scholars have begun to disavow all possibility of Buddhist influence. As a

result, various theories have been propounded to account for the native origins of the prosimetric form. Thus Lu K'an-ju, while taking Hu Shih to task for having suggested[60] a Buddhist origin for the prosimetric form, names[61] the Book of Change 易經, Conversations of the States 國語, the pre-Ch'in philosophers, and the metrical tz'u-fu 辭賦[62] as prosimetric in form. In fact, says Lu, every period of Chinese history had this form! Yet examination reveals that none of the works mentioned bears any resemblance to prosimetric narrative. Lu also inexplicably mentions several Sung period popular performing arts (e.g., the medley and "The Pedlar") as prosimetric genres having no possible connection with Buddhist gāthās. As a matter of fact, there is definite, contemporaneous proof that the verse portions of transformation texts (which preceded the Sung dynasty!) were referred to by the same name (gāthā) as those in sūtras. This proof is found in a note which follows the title of P2319, "Transformation Text on Mahāmaudgalyāyana Rescues His Mother from the Nether World." This is an abbreviated version of the story and the purpose of the note is to explain one way in which the abbreviations are consistently made. "Each of the verses (gāthā) [is cut short] after two or three lines by the notation 'and so on and so forth.'" 其偈子每槭[63]三兩句後云了是.

But it was Ch'eng I-chung who mounted[64] the most serious and concentrated challenge against the Indian origins of prosimetric narrative. His basic motive in doing so is out of a sense of nationalistic fervor:

> We do not at all reject cultures that come from abroad, but rather all along have constructively and creatively absorbed the strengths and special features of foreign cultures. But the culture of our race has its own traditions; all influences from abroad must combine with the traditions of the race before they can produce a beneficial result. This literary form, pien-wen, is mainly composed of parallel prose and heptasyllabic poetry which are

> determined by the special features of the Han [Chinese] language. Is it possible that this most authentic form of the people could have been transmitted from India?! The origins of pien-wen as a type of prosimetric literature can be found far back in the fu 賦 of ancient times.[65]

The faulty logic of this plea is evident in Ch'eng's confusion of the separate components (prose and verse) of the prosimetric form with the combined form itself. The highly speculative nature of his reference to fu ("rhapsody" or "rhyme-prose") is also obvious when, in listing a long series of ancient fu titles, he says that they were "perhaps" ("maybe," "likely," "possibly") narratives in direct discourse. A quick look at the cited fu shows that they are largely ornate and embellished examples of parallel prose, are not narrative but descriptive, and contain no extensive dialogue. In short, they resemble transformation texts neither in form, content, nor style. Ch'eng is even less sure of himself when discussing later tsa-fu ("miscellaneous rhapsodies" 雜賦) which he says he "feels" had a close relationship to pien-wen.[66] This attempt by Ch'eng to find a thoroughly Chinese pedigree for transformation texts is not convincing. The tsa-fu he cites (by Ts'ai Yung 蔡邕 [133-192] and Chao I 趙壹 [fl. 178]) are mostly quatrasyllabic with a Ch'u style song or pentasyllabic poem appended at their end. In any case, it is puzzling that Ch'eng claims a basic prosimetrical structure for these pieces. His argument becomes even less satisfactory when, advancing forward in time, he declares that the minor fu of Six Dynasties authors resemble pien-wen still more closely. He cites Yü Hsin's 庾信 (513-581) "Spring Rhapsody" but examination reveals that it is constructed of four-six (parallel) prose with a heptasyllabic poem tacked on at beginning and end.

When tested, Ch'eng's fragile hypothesis concerning the structural affinities of fu and pien-wen collapses in toto. It is well known that the narrative element in fu is scanty.

Its most characteristic use is for long and elaborate descriptive pieces, such as those which describe imperial hunts, capitals, natural and urban scenery, and sometimes for philosophical reflection or discourse. Another weak point in Ch'eng's argument centers on the fact that all of the fu which he cites, even the ancient ones, were written by well-known literati. This contradicts his own later stress[67] on pien-wen as coming from the people. Finally, as a self-contained specimen of Ch'eng's erroneous premises, I quote the following sentence: "The main reason for saying that pien-wen came from India is that they elaborate stories from the Buddhist sūtras and, since Buddhism comes from India, pien-wen too can only come from India."[68] The unjustifiability of this remark fairly leaps off the page. Few except Ch'eng himself would ever make the claim which he refers to as "the main reason" for Indian influence. So when Ch'eng proceeds to disprove it, we witness the spectacle of a man flailing away at his own imaginary surrogate spokesman.

Su Ying-hui's attempts[69] to establish fu as the progenitor of pien-wen fare no better when submitted to critical analysis. His argumentation is replete with contradictions, such as when he declares within the space of two lines that, on the one hand, the origins of pien-wen are "very early" and, on the other hand, that [T'ang?] monks are to be given credit for spreading this "new literary form." Su even goes so far as to invent a hypothetical "folk" fu from the Han and Wei periods as the putative ancestor of pien-wen.

An even more strained attempt to find a Chinese origin for the prosimetric form is that of Yang Yin-shen[70] who adduced tomb epitaphs and obituaries as the native forerunners of the combination of prose and verse characteristic of pien-wen. Aside from the obvious facts that these were always in classical Chinese, did not alternate between prose and verse, and were not intended to be narratives, Yang's deduction is irrelevant to a discussion of the origins of pien-wen except to say that the Chinese literary environment, of which tomb epitaphs and obituaries were a part, was not

predisposed to the rejection of the Buddhist innovation or, more precisely and positively, to the importation of the prosimetric narrative form. As a matter of fact, beyond fu ("rhymeprose" or "rhapsody"), it is easy to name many other genres of early Chinese literature that either stand midway between prose and verse or mingle the two in various ways: chen 箴 ("admonition"), ming 銘 ("commemorative inscription"), sung 頌 ("ode"), tsan 贊 ("eulogy"), lei 誄 ("obituary"), tiao 弔 ("condolence"), and chi-wen 祭文 ("sacrificial text"), to name only a few. Strangely, none of the proponents for a Chinese source for the prosimetric form except Yang Yin-shen have mentioned any of these genres. Yet inspection of typical examples reveals that it would be to no avail anyway because they simply were not used to advance a narrative through alternation of prose and verse sections the way genuine prosimetric literature does.

Two additional sources for a native prosimetric tradition have been adduced by Chang Hung-hsün.[71] The first is the Spring and Autumn Annals of Wu and Yüeh (Wu Yüeh ch'un-ch'iu 吳越春秋). Chang claims that it stands as an example of early prosimetric storytelling. The latter claim (that it is an example of early storytelling) cannot be tested and the former (that it is prosimetric) cannot be sustained because examination reveals that the verses in this historical narrative are short, occur only very sporadically, and do not carry the narrative.

Chang's second hypothetical proof of an early prosimetric tradition in China is taken from the first chapter of the Biographies of Virtuous Women. Here we find the statement that, "Of old, when a woman was pregnant..., at night they would have a blind [entertainer] recite poetry and tell of proper matters." 古者婦人妊子 ... 夜則令瞽誦詩道正事.[72] Chang suggests that this refers to a prosimetric performance but such an interpretation is not justified on the basis of the cited passage alone and no ancillary evidence is forthcoming.

As a specimen of the confusion which results from insisting upon a wholly native Chinese source for the prosimetric

form, I cite A History of Chinese Folk-Literature collectively written by the students of the class of 1955 of the Chinese Department at Peking Normal University. They begin their discussion of the subject by stating that "We believe that the prosimetric form did not begin with pien-wen but that it had its own source of development in China."[73] As examples of these Chinese "sources," they mention "Southeast-ward Flies the Peacock" 孔雀東南飛 and the "Ballad of Muklan" 木蘭詩.

In the first place, no responsible scholar would say that the origin of the prosimetric form in China was pien-wen alone. The importation of this new form into China was a highly complicated process which involved the translation of sūtras and the oral performance of folk narratives. The students of the class of 1955 have here called upon a straw man whose claims — and hence their counterargument — must be disqualified. Secondly, "Southeast-ward Flies the Peacock" and "Ballad of Muklan" are pentasyllabic narrative poems and hence have no direct bearing on the question of the importation of the prosimetric form per se into China.

Perhaps sensing the weakness of their argument, the students of the class of 1955 then proceed to withdraw and make a more equivocal statement about the possibility of Indian influence:

> In the process of the development from verse to the combination of prose and verse, we do not at all deny that the form of Indian Buddhist prosimetric sūtra lectures which use verse and prose side by side had a certain influence, but this influence could take effect only upon a pre-existent Chinese foundation....[74]

If by "pre-existent Chinese foundation" the authors mean "the Chinese language and its inherent stylistic capabilities," no one can take exception to this statement. But then the authors quickly resort to the extreme position that "pien-wen was absolutely not a transplantation from

abroad. It was, rather, produced on a pre-existent Chinese foundation under a bit of influence from Indian Buddhist sūtras."[75] This is a specious type of reasoning which, while acknowledging some vague Indian inputs, denies the fact that the prosimetric form itself was introduced to China from abroad. What was not and could not be introduced from abroad — and I suspect that this is what the students of the class of 1955 are really trying to say — is the Chinese adaptation of the foreign form. The reliability of the History produced by the students of the class of 1955 at Peking Normal breaks down altogether with the following declaration: "What [pien-wen] talks about are all Chinese people and all Chinese affairs; it is something entirely different from the content of the Indian sūtra lectures."[76] Aside from the fact that the first and second clauses of this declaration are logically disconnected, the statement as a whole is utterly incomprehensible to someone who has even a nodding acquaintance with Tun-huang popular literature since many of the pien-wen are indeed about Indian subjects. The patent falsity of this statement — I am talking particularly about its first clause — is demonstrated in the very next paragraph when the authors themselves contradict it.[77] Finally, the authors state that the influence of pien-wen among the people was probably not very great, that it was probably confined to the cities and places where there were large numbers of Buddhist temples, that no one knew much about it until the caves were discovered, and so on and so forth. These statements are worse than idle speculations since they run counter to everything which the available historical evidence concerning transformations tells us. The obfuscation of such ideologically imbued literary history causes it to be devoid of all practical value for scholarship. Were it not so persistent, it could safely be totally ignored.

If the various proposals for a Chinese source of the prosimetric form do not stand up under scrutiny, what may be said of those which suggest an Indian origin? Not surprisingly, they fare much better, The prosimetric form is

so common a characteristic of Sanskrit sūtras and their Chinese translations that it would be otiose to enumerate those which have it. Chinese scholars working on pien-wen in the second quarter of this century were well aware of this and it is only natural that they should have made a connection between the two. Thus Cheng Chen-to, noting that the alternation of verse and prose for narrative purposes was absent in Chinese literature before the T'ang period, declared[78] that the most workable hypothesis for the introduction of this new form was that it entered in the wake of the translation of Buddhist literature. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao had earlier noted the unique Indian proclivity for the alternate use of prose and verse in his study of the relationship between Buddhist translations and Chinese literature. The prosimetric form is as characteristic of Indian literature as parallel prose is of Chinese literature. In adapting the foreign form to their own needs, the Chinese fused these two originally disparate literary modes into a new one.

There can be little objection to Cheng Chen-to's statement that "The origins of pien-wen definitely cannot be found in native [Chinese] writings."[79] In discussing the mysteriously sudden appearance of the prosimetric form in Chinese literature, Cheng Chen-to has offered these eminently sensible words of advice: "But a new literary form certainly cannot just fall from the clear blue sky; if it is not the creation of a native genius, then it must be the importation of foreign influence."[80]

Hsiang Ta, in his study entitled "On Buddhist Cantos of the T'ang period (Lun T'ang-tai Fo-ch'ü 論唐代佛曲)," [81] has tentatively established the nature of the foreign influence which was operative in the development of Tun-huang popular literature. Ch'en Kuo-ming holds that the form of pien-wen was imported from India and cites[82] the Jātaka-mālā of Aśvaghoṣa (—> Āryaśura) as an example of its early use for narrative purposes there.

In an attempt to explain the origins of prosimetric literature in China, Hrdličková has focused on the translation

of Buddhist sūtras: "If we want to gain a proper understanding of [the] development of shuo-ch'ang wen-hsüe[h] we have to go back to the translations of Buddhist sūtras in Chinese, in which prosimetric form appears for the first time in Chinese literature."[83] Hrdličková is able to offer unimpeachable evidence that the written prosimetric form was, indeed, introduced from India through the medium of Buddhist sūtras. Hrdličková's article[84] has proven beyond all doubt that the translation of Buddhist literature was the genesis of the prosimetric form in China. Even though a whole cache of late Han or Six Dynasties prosimetric narratives might one day be discovered (granted this is virtually an impossibility given the preponderant shape of the development of Chinese narrative), it would still not obviate Buddhist influence. All that needs to be added to what Hrdličková has written is the proviso that prosimetric literature was in all probability also concurrently being introduced to China in the oral realm. There is, however, no convincing way to demonstrate this conclusively for the time before the T'ang period.

Doleželová-Velingerová and Crump agree[85] that the prosimetric form was introduced from India during the era of the translation of Buddhist sūtras. They also hold that thematically and stylistically Yüan drama is heir to the storytelling tradition including, primarily, the medley (chu-kung-tiao 諸宮調). One might induce from their remarks that the entire storytelling and dramatic tradition of Chinese popular literature owes its basic prosimetric form to Indian Buddhism, We shall see, in the eighth chapter, that this is the case.

In an important but almost wholly ignored article, Chi Hsien-lin has specified the possibility of Tocharian texts having functioned as an intermediary stage in the introduction of the prosimetric form to China:

> This form is not of Chinese but of Indian origin. The Mahavastu and the Lalitavistara are among the many works written in this style. The Pancatantra

is also in verse and prose.

> China had access to this form through translations of Buddhist scriptures and through the ancient languages of Central Asia. Several versions of the tale of the carpenter and painter exist in Chinese translations of sutras, all of them in prose; but in ancient Tocharian the same story is in verse and prose. As ancient Tocharian served as a bridge between China and India, it may also have been instrumental in introducing this genre to China.[86]

Chi's suggestion leads us directly back to India and a discussion of the origins, place, and function of the prosimetric form there.

Pischel has outlined the typical form of Indian narrative literature as having verse of a fixed character and prose that functions primarily as interstitial connective between the separate units of verse:

> The hymns in dialogue of the Ṛgveda and other works also, as the Suparṇādhayāya, are almost incomprehensible in the form in which they have come down to us. The connection between the separate verses is very loose, often quite impossible to discover. To understand it we need a connecting text, which in some cases is given in prose by the Brāhmaṇas, works explanatory of the Vedas. Later works, such as the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, sometimes contain the entire narrative, but then often in a very different form. On the ground of similar cases in Irish literature, Windisch first threw out [i.e., advanced] the suggestion that originally only the verses were unchangeable, and that the reciters connected them by means of prose narrations. This view is undoubtedly correct. It is borne out by the name of the rhapsodist granthika, i.e. joiner or connector. The prose narrations were in general only rigidly fixed as regards their contents; their development in detail was left

> to the judgment of the rhapsodist. Originally it was precisely the same with drama. The classical drama of India has a peculiar construction, the prose being continually interrupted by stanzas in various metres. Such stanzas in pre-classical times formed the 'fixed capital' of the player. As regards the prose the greatest freedom was left to him. This is the case up to the present day in the popular plays. Popular plays have never been written down in India. The manager gives his actors a short summary of the contents of the piece they are to act, and leaves the development of it to their talent for improvisation. We have literary imitations of popular plays in Bengal and Nepal, all of which have the same characteristics. The verses are fixed: only suggestions are given for the prose, and these in the Nepali pieces are in the dialects of the country.[87]

Thus we see that, from the earliest known and most sacred literature of the Indian people down to more recent and popular entertainments, it has always been the verse portions of a literary work that are relatively fixed and the interjacent prose passages that are more fluid.[88]

Gokuldas De has shown[89] conclusively that the original form of the Jātakas consisted of a verse or verses embodying some episode from the Buddha's past lives. The moral of the episode was implicit in the verse but was made more apparent through the addition of a prose narrative that varied according to circumstances. As a collection of selected verses, the Jātakas go back approximately to the time of the Buddha. In many instances, however, they have adopted and adapted stories which were current before the Buddha's birth.

In the long tradition of the creation and transmission of the stories about the Buddha's former births in the Jātakas, there are many phases which are instructive for students of transformation texts. One of the most important conclusions of scholars concerning this rich body of stories composed of various combinations of prose and verse is that the verse

portions have always been the most stable parts. Ratilal Mehta has reviewed the scholarship on the subject and gives the following synoptic explanation:

> Originally both prose and verse of the Jātakas came down orally; but naturally the prose had a less stable form than the verse, being more exposed to changes and enlargements, so that when the canon was composed, and subsequently when it was written down, in the 1st century B.[I.E.]...only the verses retained their original form, whereas the rendering of the prose was at first entrusted to the reciters who could recite the verses more faithfully than the prose, and it was only at a later period committed to writing by Commentators.[90]

Hence, there is nothing mysterious about the manner in which folk literature is composed:

> Authors of folklore have always remained anonymous: the story originates in the mind of one man: he composes the verses and puts them afloat among the folk: in course of time these verses become the common possession of the whole folk: the verses are thus preserved, with very rare modifications: the prose which is only a commentary on these verses changes from mouth to mouth, until it settles in the form in which it is finally committed to writing. This is, in general, the life-story of a folk-tale. The same can be said with regard to the Jātaka stories.[91]

Likewise, a similar process of birth and growth can be imagined for transformations and transformation texts. In this regard, it is significant that only the verses are written on the back of the illustrated Śāriputra scroll (P4524). For it is the verses which are the central, stable core of a prosimetric folk narrative in the Indian tradition and in other Asian traditions influenced by it. This truism is

operative in Yüan period and later drama where the operatic aria and canto — as is known from examination of the earliest available recensions and other contemporary sources — is the fixed nucleus of the text which grows up around it through repeated performances.

The relationship between the transformation text and Jātaka traditions is not simply one of parallels and correspondences regarding the development of the prosimetric form. These two traditions must also be considered as related because they were both Buddhist teaching devices and both were illustrated with pictures. The Jātakas, already in the third and second centuries B.I.E., were portrayed in the bas-reliefs on the stone walls of Bhārhut and Sāñchī, in the second century I.E. at Amarāvatī and at Ajaṇṭā. Fa-hsien, in the fifth century, saw 500 Jātakas represented by figures at Abhayagiri in Ceylon and Hsüan-tsang saw them depicted on many stūpas during his pilgrimage to India. The Jātakas were also an important source of imagery for the wall-paintings at Tun-huang. The intimate linkage between pien-wen and pien-hsiang is fully documented throughout this study.

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The third of the chief identifying characteristics of pien-wen is a close connection with illustrations. The very nature of the first identifying characteristic, the preverse formula which I have discussed at length at the beginning of this chapter, points to this relationship. But there are many other irrefutable items of evidence which can be adduced,[92] including some of the contemporaneous literary references that I cite in chapter six. By no means do I wish to convey the impression that I rule out the possibility that pictures could not also have been used in conjunction with sūtra lectures and other evangelistic performances by monks. What I do wish to emphasize is that the use of pictures was mandatory for the folk, oral antecedents of transformation texts in the strictest or narrowest sense. As put by Kanaoka Shōkō, "pien-wen cannot exist apart from pictures."[93]

The illustrated scroll (P4524) of Śāriputra's contest of supernatural powers with Raudrākṣa is the most important item of primary evidence for the organic connection between genuine pien-wen and pictures.[94] The six scenes[95] represented on the scroll perfectly correspond to the incidents narrated in the matching transformation text (part on S5511 and part formerly in Hu Shih's possession, also S4398, P4615, and a copy formerly owned by Lo Chen-yü):

	Six Heretics	Śāriputra
Conjuration	mountain	warrior (vajrapāṇi) with club
	water buffalo	lion
	pond	white elephant
	poisonous dragon	gold-winged bird (garuḍa)
	yellow-headed ghost	Vaiśravaṇa Mahārāja
	tree	wind

Needless to say, Śāriputra beats his rival in this unfairly organized contest. Since he is always permitted to "go" second (and last), it is easy for him to top anything his frustrated opponent can produce. The verses on the back of the scroll are virtually identical to those in the corresponding sections of the transformation text. It is also noteworthy that they are different from any verses in the canonical source of the story, "Sudatta Builds a Monastery" 須達起精舍 in the tenth fascicle of the Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish 賢愚經. It is logical that, if anything were to be written on a performance scroll, it would be the verses. This we already know from the whole prosimetric tradition in India where the verses are relatively fixed and the prose passages tend to be improvised anew with each session. Finally, the very story of Śāriputra's contest[96] with the Six Heretics is perfect material for the transformation text par excellence. For the business of both the contest and the genre is to create illusory objects and states of being.

The theme of opponents pitting off each other's magical conjurations is frequent in later Chinese popular literature as well. In the favorite shadow play called "Story of the

White Snake" 白蛇傳, the White [Snake] Lady 白娘子 and the priest "Dharma-Sea" 法海 fight each other with magically produced demons and dragons. Some of the most delightful episodes from the beginning of the Journey to the West center around Monkey's magic battles of transformational appearances with various heroes sent down from heaven to subdue him. The same is true again later when Tripiṭaka faces off against his Taoist enemies in Cart-Slow Country 車遲國.

The language of the cartouches on the wall-paintings at the back of Tun-huang cave 146 correspond rather closely to that in the "Transformation Text on the Subduing of the Demons" 降魔變文 which relates the magic contest between Śāriputra and Raudrākṣa.[97] It would appear that the cartouches and the text are related by more than the fact that they have the same story. The common ground to which I refer is the intimate connection which both have with transformation illustrations.

The very title of S2614 (dated 921) is absolute proof of the close connection between transformation texts and pictures: "Transformation Text on Mahāmaudgalyāyana's Rescue of His Mother from the Dark Regions, With Pictures, One Scroll, With Preface" 大目乾連冥間救母變文并圖一卷并序. The two characters for "with pictures" have been marked out with ink. Since there are no pictures anywhere on S2614, it is puzzling to consider what may have been the actual relationship of the missing illustrations to the text. It is conceivable that it was originally intended to paint the pictures on the verso of the scroll but that, for lack of funds, inability to locate a suitable artist, or for some other reason, the work was never completed. This seems unlikely, however, for at least two reasons. The first is that the writing on the verso of the scroll, which consists of lists of monks in various Tun-huang monasteries, appears from examination of its placement, to have been written prior to the transformation text. Hence there never would have been any space available on the verso for the pictures. The second is that the transformation

text, being complete with both prose and verse, must have been intended for reading rather than for oral presentation. This is in contrast to the illustrated Śāriputra scroll (P4524) which has pictures on the front and verses only on the back. Just as with the S5511-Hu Shih Śāriputra transformation text, one simply would not expect to find pictures on the back of a scroll intended for private reading instead of public performance. Though the manuscript lacks the pictures, it does not lack the preface which, apparently, extends from the beginning up to "Long ago, when the Buddha was in the world...."[98]

Although the pictures that were intended to accompany S2614 have long since become separated from it or were, perhaps, never executed, we are obliged to take the words in the title ("With Pictures") at face value. If we do, it is inevitable that we ask ourselves such questions as who purchased and owned these scrolls? For what purpose did they want them? In this regard, it is possible to detect a parallel with certain later illustrated texts derived from oral performance. What, for example, is the raison d'être for the Ming dynasty Text to the Play about Maudgalyāyana Rescuing His Mother and Exhorting Her to Goodness?[99] Surely actors would not require such an elaborately designed and profusely illustrated script. The pictures, together with the text, can only be explained as serving the purpose of reminding the reader what a real performance of the play was like. The printed version allowed the owner of the Text to the Play about Maudgalyāyana Rescuing His Mother and Exhorting Her to Goodness to reanimate his recollection of the words and movements of the players — and in the convenient privacy of his home, at that. The demand for written transformation texts with pictures such as S2614 can be explained similarly.

That S2614 was intended for reading rather than for performance is partially evident, as I have said, from the inclusion of the prose passages together with the verse passages. The conclusion which would appear inescapable is that a separate scroll of pictures was produced (or there were

plans for such a scroll) for the convenience and delectation of the reader of the transformation text (hence the words "with Pictures" in the title) but that it was subsequently lost (hence the inking out). A passage from The Tale of Genji amply demonstrates that picture books were used in conjunction with private reading of fiction during the late Heian (late ninth to twelfth centuries):

> The princess took out illustrations to old romances, which they examined while Ukon[100] read from the texts. Absorbed now in the pictures and facing her sister in the lamplight, Ukifune[101] had a delicate, girlish beauty that was perfection of its kind. The quiet elegance of the face, with a slight glow about the eyes and at the forehead, was so like Oigimi[102] that Nakanokimi herself was paying little attention to the pictures.[103]

This scene, as portrayed on the Tale of Genji Picture Scroll (Genji Monogatari emaki 源氏物語繪卷), vividly and accurately depicts how picture scrolls or books might be used privately for entertainment in conjunction with a separate written text.[104]

It is important to note, in connection with the problem of the title of S2614, the title given on P3107 which is "Transformation Text on Mahāmaudgalyāyana's Rescue of His Mother from the Dark Regions, One Scroll, With Preface" 大目乾連冥間救母變文一卷并序. The resemblance is unmistakable. Although only the beginning of P3107 is preserved, it is clear that it belongs to the same lineage of copies as S2614. But there is no mention of pictures, neither in the title nor in the text. The conclusion which must be drawn is that pictures were not originally intended to be a part of this class of manuscript. The pictures mentioned in the title of S2614 would have been produced independently of the transformation text and were thus liable to become separated from it. The back of P3107

carries the notation "Transformation Text on Mahāmaudgalyāyana; One Scroll. Precious Preserve."[105]

Another manuscript of the Mahāmaudgalyāyana transformation, PK876, has blank spaces alternating with portions of the text.[106] These appear to have been intended for pictures that the owner of the scroll was unable to procure. If such be the case, it would indicate even more forcefully than does S2614 that there was a desire on the part of some transformation readers to look at both text and pictures. The illustrated transformation manqué on PK876 would have had its pictures facing the reader.

One fairly important Tun-huang manuscript which appears not to have been mentioned previously in discussions of pien wen and pien-hsiang is the fragmentary P5019. The verso is a crudely drawn picture. On the right side is a person carrying a back pack. His hands are raised to support the straps of the pack. It appears that the pack is quite heavy. He is shown leaving through the gate of a (city? courtyard? defense?) wall on top of which is a tiny flag. Another similarly equipped figure is entering the gate from the left. At the bottom left there is a structure which seems to be in the process of construction. Perhaps the men are carrying stones to build the uncompleted wall. The picture continues on toward both the left and right before the fragment breaks off. The recto, which may well be the corresponding text for the pictures (cf. the format of P4524), is written in heptasyllabic verse but also includes several lines with four syllables. Since this text specifically mentions the "King of Ch'in" 秦王 and his mass conscription of workers to build the Great Wall as protection against the "barbarian" nomads, it is possible that this is part of a transformation dealing with Meng Chiang-nü 孟姜女 although neither she nor her husband Ch'i Liang 杞梁 is mentioned by name in it. The text deals mainly with the sufferings and sorrows of the workers. The geographical locations mentioned in it are compatible with the story of Meng Chiang-nü. It should, incidentally, be noted that the fragment (P5039) of the Meng Chiang-nü story printed in T32-35

is not, technically speaking, a genuine pien-wen in the narrow sense because it lacks the verse introductory formula.

At the beginning of S5511 (the opening part of the "Transformation Text on the Subduing of Demons"), there is a drawing of a man holding a pole with a larger object attached to the end of it, perhaps a banner or a fan or large drum-beater.[107] The picture is unmistakably drawn on a separate piece of paper that was later joined to the beginning of the text fragment. Perhaps the drawing may originally have come from a narrative picture scroll. Hence, it is conceivable that the individual responsible for pasting this picture to the beginning of S5511 had obtained a set of illustrations for the "Transformation Text on the Subduing of Demons" and that he had intended to cut them up and splice them into the text itself at appropriate intervals.[108] That this never actually happened is obvious from the fact that the manuscript formerly in Hu Shih's possession, which takes up where S5511 leaves off, shows no traces of pictures on it. The tear which caused these two parts of what should be a single manuscript to become separated may in some way be related to the attempt to join the pictures to it. There are two additional facts about the surviving picture fragment which require attention. The first is that it is torn off (on the right side) close to where it joins the text (on the left side). The second is that the picture faces the reader. This latter fact is particularly significant since it means that the fragmentary scroll as it is now constructed was probably not intended for performance before an audience but for individual or, at most, intimate group viewing.

I have so far not been able to discover any hard and fast pictorial evidence of transformation performances during the T'ang period. Among the more tantalizing bits of evidence encountered is from cave 70 (Pelliot number; Tun-huang Institute 217) in the middle section at the bottom of the left wall.[109] Several men are holding up scrolls and seem to be reading from them. At least two of these scrolls appear to have designs on the verso side, particularly that of the man

under the tree facing left. It is of the utmost importance to know in more detail of what these designs consist. Scholars who have access to the caves would be performing a great service if they closely examined the paintings of this cave (and, indeed, of all the Tun-huang caves) for evidence of storytelling and lecturing. It is also a desideratum that all of the inscriptions in the cartouches be recorded accurately and quickly before they vanish forever.

Chapter Five Performers, Writers, and Copyists

One problem concerning Tun-huang popular literature which has most intrigued scholars is whether or not it has an oral provenance. Since the performers and scribes are no longer with us and since they neglected to leave an explicit record of how they worked, we will never be able to say with absolute certainty exactly what process of transcription was involved. But there is much that can be inferred from the Tun-huang manuscripts themselves and from parallel cases in other literatures where we do have fuller evidence.

There are at least the following possibilities which might serve to explain how and why transformation texts came to be written down:

1) They were promptbooks, aides-mémoire, or scripts copied by the storytellers themselves for use in performance.

2) They were taken down during performance by an auditor for his own use or for someone else who wished to have a record of the performance.

3) An auditor may have written out the story from memory after an individual performance — again, for his own use or for someone who engaged him specifically for that purpose.

4) Though obviously a product of an oral ambiance, transformation texts are, strictly speaking, written literature which was conceived, executed, and enjoyed in the study.

In order to determine which of these possibilities is the more likely, let us turn to some general observations, drawn from various traditions of storytelling and drama around the world, on the relationship between oral performance and written text.

A written text may grow up in the milieu of oral literature and be thoroughly imbued with its spirit. But it has

not been proven that performers of oral literature in China or elsewhere ever restricted themselves to exact reproduction of any given text. For, in the first place, no text can possibly prescribe all of the sound effects, gestures, asides, and so on, that are the stock in trade of even the least skillful performer. Judging from the evidence provided by numerous other Asian traditions of storytelling with pictures and of the shadow-play, the transformation performer would not have relied on a text.[1] Those responsible for the writing of texts are most often members of the audience. Those who transcribe oral folk literature and thus begin the process of transforming it into popular written literature are almost never the performers of oral literature themselves. For the latter, in the majority of traditions which I have investigated, are generally functionally illiterate. As Barbara Ruch states, "oral literature usually implies illiteracy on the part of the producer of a story, on the part of the audience, or both."[2] The transcription is perforce done by semi-literate or literate afficionados and merchant-purveyors of commercial texts.

Waley has offered the following cautionary note in regard to the relationship between the oral and written traditions:

> We must not...in dealing with societies where both exist, attempt to make too sharp a distinction between the two. Wherever texts exist at all, even if they are accessible only to a small minority, the two sorts of tradition are bound to infiltrate one another. A Mongol peasant who tells the story of Buddha's life may have learnt most of the episodes orally from other members of the tribe, who also learnt most of them orally. But he may very well have learnt other episodes from a Lama who has read them in a book. And the same Lama, should he write a book, would be likely enough to incorporate in his story folk-lore elements belonging to an oral tradition. A Majorcan peasant who tells one stories about the Moors has probably

> never read a book about the Moors or, indeed, any book at all. But much of what he tells could ultimately be traced to printed texts.[3]

In a discussion of the relation between folk storytellers and individuals who were capable of writing down stories to be read, Hrdličková makes clear the vitally creative role of the former:

> Especially in the towns, the relations between folk storytellers and literati were often very close, so that the work of the latter also exercised its influence on this branch of folk art, especially as regards subject-matter. Certainly, however, it would be a mistake to take as a starting-point for the study of the storytellers' material only a knowledge of literary fixed productions and assume that these works were written for the use of storytellers who memorized them and modified them only in unsubstantial details. Such a conception would imply that the true creators were, above all, the authors of these texts, who alone were able to give the story content and shape, while the storytellers' contribution was of secondary importance. If we penetrate more deeply into the true character of the storytelling art and make a closer acquaintance with the methods of training its practitioners, we realize that the direction of the process was reversed — that folk artists were not dependent on written texts, but rather the contrary was true, and that in this exceptionally strong stream of folk creation are to be found the origins of those works which today, although denied recognition by the literati in the past, form an integral and valuable part of Chinese literature.[4]

Amin Sweeny, who has studied the Malay shadow-play exhaustively, discovered that performers very rarely use written texts. And, even in the uncommon cases when they do,

the texts are by no means in such a state that someone else could read them as a finished narrative:

> There are perhaps 5% of Wayang Siam dalangs who possess written records of part of their repertoire.[5] These manuscripts were all made by the owners themselves, and their sources were almost entirely oral. In all cases examined, dalangs owning such writings hand down their repertoire in oral form and the written record appears to be more for the dalang's personal reference than for the benefit of pupils although there is the possibility of a pupil being allowed to copy them.[6] Further, in half the manuscripts examined, the writing was so hurried and so many details left to memory, that there would be little chance of anyone but the owner of finding them completely comprehensible. There is, moreover, no known tradition of writings being handed down from teacher to pupil, and the fact that a majority of dalangs are illiterate or semi-illiterate seems to account for this....[7]

Choe Sang-su has pointed out[8] that Korean puppet players are usually farmers or part-time farmers. It is unlikely that, in premodern times, such individuals would have attained sufficient literacy to compose texts based on their performances that would be satisfying to an audience of readers. Some few Peking shadow-play performers do possess rudimentary scripts while others only transmit their stories orally.[9]

Performers of Chinese folk theater do not use scripts. Occasionally there do exist texts of some of the plays they present but these are written down by "play enthusiasts" or "fans" (hsi-mi 戲迷), not by the actors themselves. The transcription, if that is what it should be called, occurs after the performance and is done by partially literate individuals who are not members of the elite segments of society.

The latter, as a matter of fact, tend scrupulously to avoid attendance at such folk plays. Much more rarely, the texts may be dictated by the actors to the same sort of scribe who would transcribe them from memory after performance. Naturally, a text taken down from dictation would more closely resemble what really occurs on the stage than one dependent on the recall of the scribe. But neither method would be completely faithful to the plays as given in live performance.[10]

The fullest historical account of the use of written materials in connection with Indonesian wayang plays[11] is that of Pigeaud. Several of the points which he makes correspond exactly to what is known of traditions elsewhere in Asia:

> Probably Javanese wayaŋ play performers relied on orally transmitted tradition for the contents of their plays up to the beginning of the renaissance of classical letters in the eighteenth century. Some men of letters perhaps borrowed plots from the Sĕrat Kaṇḍa compendiums in order to make new plays. But then, the Sĕrat Kaṇḍa tales themselves were based on ancient tradition of professional story-tellers and wayaŋ play performers.
>
> In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Javanese dalaŋs became familiar with the use of books containing concise prose notes on the plots of wayaŋ plays. Such books were called pakĕms, manuals. In many cases the notes were so concise as to be almost incomprehensible for outsiders. In the middle of the nineteenth century some wayaŋ pakĕms were amplified and worked into prose tales, sometimes even containing texts of the conversation of the personages. Lastly, some complete texts of wayaŋ plays were written.[12]

But Pigeaud does not indicate that they were written by the performers themselves. That would be highly unlikely since most of them were illiterate. Indeed, two paragraphs later,

Pigeaud mentions the important role of Dutch scholars in encouraging Javanese authors to write about wayang.

> In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries much attention has been given by Dutch scholars to wayaŋ art and wayaŋ literature. They rightly considered the wayaŋ as one of the most important features of Javanese culture, leaving its mark in all domains of Javanese life. Therefore Dutch scholars stimulated Javanese authors to write treatises on the art of the wayaŋ play performer. No doubt the interest shown by nineteenth and twentieth century Dutch scholars was instrumental in enlarging Javanese literature on wayaŋ.[13]

I suspect that the Dutch scholarly activity was one of the chief reasons why the pakĕms (handbooks) and lakons (play plots) came to be written down in a form accessible to individuals other than the dalangs themselves.

In discussing the subject of the evolution of folk and popular literature from oral to written forms, we must also ask some basic questions about the motives of the individuals responsible for this transition. Did the performers themselves feel a need for something written to serve as a reminder of the contents of the stories they told? Would they have been interested in the printing and publishing of their stories? But, if the answers to these two questions are negative (as we shall see they are), who then was responsible? And why did they wish to transcribe the storytellers' wares?

A brief, but important, study of this problem may be found in Ssu Su's "Do Storytellers Have Promptbooks?"[14] The majority of performers interviewed by Ssu over a period of several years informed him that they transmitted their stories (including words, modulations of voice, gestures, expressions, etc.) orally and that they did not make use of promptbooks. But they also admitted that occasionally some parts of their stories had written texts and that these

were usually the verse sections (N.B.). The storytellers stressed that the verses had to be memorized perfectly — not a word was to be changed. On the other hand, they allowed themselves a much higher degree of flexibility in the spoken prose sections. This is in perfect agreement with historical experience and practice in the Indian prosimetric storytelling traditions.

According to Ssu Su, in cases where there were partial promptbooks, they were usually hand-copied by the performer himself on account books, scraps of paper and so on.

> Because of the limitations of their cultural level, miswritten characters, wrong characters, and displaced characters as well as sentences that are ungrammatical or illogical are exceedingly numerous. Add to this the messy handwriting and it all makes it difficult to finish reading such texts.[15]

These conditions naturally contributed to keeping each storytelling tradition a secret known fully only to the performers themselves. But this was precisely what the storytellers wanted.

Some of the promptbooks seen by Ssu Su simply mentioned chapter headings and the main incidents within each. Never were directions for gestures, music, etc. described in detail. If there were any attempts to do so, they were always greatly simplified and abbreviated, perhaps because of the limitations of literacy. Only rarely did these promptbooks follow an established written text such as Lo Kuan-chung's 羅貫中 (Yüan period) Romance of the Three Kingdoms 三國志演義.

One other point stressed by Ssu Su is that, if they ever did note anything down in written form, the storytellers guarded it jealously and even denied outright that it existed. This is in harmony with what is known of storytellers the world over, including German Bänkelsängers and puppeteers. The last thing a performer wanted to see was his secretly transmitted tradition made public since such

an eventuality threatened his capacity to earn an income from it. Those who wished to have the texts copied down and distributed were entrepreneurs outside of the group of storytellers themselves. The ironic fact is that the demand for written forms of storytellers' narratives comes chiefly from those who are fond of the latter but desire a more permanent record than can be had by attendance at an actual performance. Ruth Sawyer, a master storyteller in her own right, explains that "There is a kind of death to every story when it leaves the speaker and becomes impaled for all time on clay tablets or the written and printed page."[16] It is no wonder that traditional oral performers were unwilling to have their stories translated or recorded. Their very livelihood was at stake.

All of this has a bearing both on the reasons for the appearance of transformation texts and the rapid disappearance of the form in the Sung period.[17] Once these texts came to be written down, it was difficult for transformations to continue as a vital folk art. Having been committed to the printed page, either through publication or extensive copying in manuscript form, a once living tradition of oral narrative becomes fixed. This amounts almost to an inexorable law of folk literature. A given literary form can survive when it is taken out of the hands of the folk artists, but only in a qualified way. The form is finally given over to the elite and becomes solidified by canons of taste and judgement.

The commercial motivation for the writing down of oral and vocal performances by scribes is convincingly established by Catherine Stevens in her study of Peking drumsinging (ching-yün ta-ku 京韻大鼓).[18] Enterprising businessmen would transcribe a given performance, then sell or rent their hand-copied manuscripts at temple fairs.[19] These texts were made without the consent and perhaps even without the knowledge of the drumsingers themselves. The simple fact that there was an economic demand for such texts brought them into existence, not any authorial urge on the part of the drumsingers. Certainly their own instincts would have

precluded, if not prohibited, any attempt to publish their most private property. Pischel notes[20] that early German itinerant puppet troupes took oaths among themselves never to write down a word of their plays lest they fall into alien hands. The Rajasthani bhopo (picture storytellers) and par painters, too, are highly secretive about the transmission of their traditions and craft.[21] To make their unique performances accesible in written form to large numbers of potential paying customers would be, in some measure, "to break their rice-bowl." But, no matter how threatening such unauthorized transcription and copying may have been, the singers were defenseless against the indefatigable efforts of the merchants to make a profit on their wares. Indeed, the latter displayed considerable competitive acumen in searching out the most entertaining stories, revising them, and hawking the finished product. Stevens mentions one famous individual who was active for a very long period of time beginning in the late eighteenth century named "Hundred-book Chang" (she refers to him as "Omnibus Chang").

In special cases, however, it would appear that ballad-singers and picture storytellers were themselves sometimes involved in the sale of printed materials relating to their performances. One aspect of Japanese etoki, for example, which is instructive for the study of picture storytelling elsewhere is the commercial one. The Kumano bikuni would often carry extra copies of the pictures they explained as a way to make money. What is even more interesting is that they sometimes also sold booklets that consisted of written versions of their oral narratives. Ruch's remarks[22] on the commercial activities of etoki correspond to what Brednich has to say[23] about the German Bänkelsängers who supported themselves by the sale of newspaper-like broadsheets or Archer[24] about the Bengali paṭuās whose crude mythological scenes were purchased in the thousands by pilgrims, especially from stalls near the shrine of Kalighat. Yet in no case known to me were storytellers engaged in the sale of the complete texts of their performances. Usually what they

purveyed, if anything, were the barest outlines of their stories. This actually served to attract listeners who might want to hear the full versions. Regardless of who exactly was responsible for doing the work of publication and making the sales, we are justified in postulating that the rise of printed popular literature in the Sung period had its roots in a similar combination of entertaiment and commercial impulses.

The Record of the Retrieval of Sūtras by the Tripiṭaka Dharma-Master of the Great T'ang Dynasty (Ta T'ang San-tsang Fa-shih ch'ü-ching chi 大唐三藏法師取經記), for example, was "Printed by the Chang Family of the Central Entertainment District" 中瓦子張家印.[25] In his preface to the text, Wang Kuo-wei held that this is proof that it originated in Hangchow. There was, indeed, during the Sung period, a Hangchow Central Bazaar or Entertainment District as well as a bookseller surnamed Chang.[26] Průšek, however, is skeptical and reminds[27] us that other cities had Central Bazaars and that Chang was a very common surname. But, no matter which city this work was printed in, we at least learn from its colophon that there were printers active in the same quarters where storytellers told their stories. This is confirmed by a Ming writer, Yeh Sheng, who has noted[28] the commercial incentives for gathering and publishing pictures and texts related to popular entertainment.

Korean p'ansori[29] are performed by kwangdae who alternate between sung (ch'ang) and spoken (aniri) passages. They do not employ pictures, but these storytellers — who are accompanied by a single drummer — often employ gestures which makes the performance, like transformations, intermediary between oral narrative and drama. The kwangdae are interesting for our present purposes because of the fact that, although they did have some mnemonic aids of their own, the p'ansori texts which were printed and sold to the public were written by outsiders to the kwangdae's profession.

A final note on the subject of who is responsible for writing down stories that were originally orally performed

may be made. Blindness has often been a trait of performers of oral literature throughout the world. This was certainly true of biwa singers in old Japan. And, even today, many Cantonese ballad singers and storytellers are blind.[30] A printed text would obviously have little significance for them. And yet their ballads and stories have come to be written down — by fans, by publishers, and by scholars.

** * **

In addressing the problem of the reason for the existence of the transformation text manuscripts, we must not discount the possibility that they represent various points of development on a continuum ranging from oral to written. It would seem to be incontestable that transformation texts bear some relationship, however tenuous, to oral performances. Though highly imaginative, by and large transformation texts show a low level of literary polish. The frequent occurrence of homophonic error is an indication (though by no means does it constitute proof) that the individuals who wrote down the transformation texts were more strongly influenced by oral renditions of the stories than by written ones. Countless examples could be cited which indicate that the sound rather than the shape of a given character was usually uppermost in the mind of the scribe.[31] But, how, then, are the less frequent orthographic errors to be explained? In the first place, the individuals who transcribed the transformation texts and other types of Tun-huang popular literature were obviously at least partially literate. Hence it is not unlikely that a scribe who had heard a given piece performed a number of times might also have read various popular and classical versions of the same story. As such, he would also have had in mind — even when transcribing what he may have considered to be a unique performance — certain visual recollections of the various texts relating to the story which he had previously encountered. Total recall of a given performance, even one which the transcriber heard only moments before he began to write it down, is impossible. There are simply too many small

details and happenings involved in a three or four hour performance for a transcriber to catch everything. Inasmuch as there were no developed stenographic,[32] mechanical, or electronic means available to make a verbatim transcription of any single performance, it was inevitable that written versions would be composite in nature. Their composite natures would result from the fact that all previous encounters with the story at hand — whether oral or written — would be operative, to greater or lesser degree, in the mind of the transcriber. Therefore, it may be concluded that not one of the Tun-huang manuscripts of popular narratives accurately represents any single performance. I say this in spite of the fact that there are remarks recorded on some of the manuscripts which are ostensibly directed to an actual audience.

It is important, in this connection, to recall Patrick Hanan's concept of "simulated context." After a series of studies[33] in which he demonstrated that the corpus of extant vernacular short stories from the Ch'ing period and earlier are primarily written literature,[34] Hanan went on to account for the apparent marks of orality that many of these stories bear. His definition of this concept is as follows:

> 'Simulated context' means the context or situation in which a piece of fiction claims to be transmitted. In Chinese vernacular fiction, of course, the simulacrum is that of the oral storyteller addressing his audience, a pretense in which the author and reader happily acquiesce in order that the fiction can be communicated.[35]

More specifically, "simulated context" refers to the phrases, devices, and techniques employed by an author or editor of vernacular short stories to create the atmosphere of a storytelling event. Thus, any vestiges of orality in fiction dating from the Sung through Ch'ing were shown to be part of the craft of the authors who were attempting, whether consciously or unconsciously, to create the semblance of oral literature. The conventions of this craft required that

certain formulaic expressions be employed which had all the appearance of deriving directly from oral performance. Obvious examples are the set-pieces at the beginning, the verse-introductory formulas, and the inevitable admonition at the end of each chapter (i.e., "session") for the reader ("auditor") to continue ("return") to find out what transpires. But it must be emphasized strongly that, in the rare instances where outsiders have been privileged to examine the few genuine promptbooks of practicing storytellers (be they from Africa, Persia, Indonesia, or twentieth-century China) that do exist, the formulaic expressions are among the first elements to be left out. Such expressions serve no purpose when it comes to reminding the performer of the content of the tale he is about to perform. They function, rather, in an automatic fashion as transitions which punctuate the performance for the audience. They occur as reflex actions of the teller in performance, much as a hornist knows by instinct and practice where to breathe in a piece of music without marking the places or as a coloratura soprano knows by training and talent how to embellish a passage without specifying the notes ahead of time. The existence of numerous formulaic expressions in a short story may be regarded as an indication that the work was intended for a reader and not for a performer. A performer would not need such markers; indeed, he would find them to be an encumbrance. On the other hand, an author who was attempting to duplicate or simulate a performance for a reader would regard them as essential. This is not, of course, to deny that — in an evolutionary or developmental sense — there is a meaningful connection to be made between these vestiges of orality and their origin in actual storytelling. It is, in fact, one of the major purposes of this study to push back the limits of vernacular fiction to the time when it merges with the performing arts from which it was born. Needless to say, storytelling has continued in China up to the present day and it is clear that authors of fiction from all periods have relied upon it as a rich source of themes, motifs, language, and even formulaic expressions. However, as I have

pointed out before and contrary to the dogma of folklore studies in certain circles over the past twenty or thirty years, formulaic language does not necessarily imply orality. Buddhist sūtras are highly formulaic, as are Ming and Ch'ing novels, but these are clearly written forms of literature. It would seem, rather, that formulaic language in written texts is ipso facto an attempt to recapture a lost orality, i.e., they are evidences of secondary orality.

To return to the reasons for the existence of popular narrative literature among the Tun-huang manuscripts, except for P4524 (the illustrated Śāriputra scroll) which was likely the property of a performer, it was written down for the pur- of being read — not necessarily by the larger public — just as were the later short stories. The common designation of the group of texts we are studying, after all, is pien-wen; surely wen is meant to refer to a category of written literature. What appear to be obvious evidences of orality are attributes of an effort to create a simulated context. Yet it must be conceded that the greater frequency of homophonic errors over orthographic errors indicates that certain of the transformation texts may be closer to spoken literature than to written literature.[36]

Another important type of evidence which indicates how closely these texts are related to the performing arts is the existence, in many cases, of multiple copies of the same story. While these copies may differ on details, there is always sufficient correspondence on the grosser aspects that it is possible immediately to recognize individual manuscripts as variants of a single, basic tale. The most compelling explanation is that there was a circumscribed body of tales which was standard fare for the transformation performers, but that these tales would be modified slightly with each telling and with each teller. Someone who assumed the task of preparing a written version of such a tale would have been exposed to the stuff of that tale on countless occasions during his life. He may have heard it (or parts of it) from his uncle or mother, older brother or sister, friend or acquaintance, not to mention the numerous storytellers who

would have recounted it for him. He would not, and could not, restrict himself to a single telling. Who among us does not know something about Paul Bunyan and Johnny Appleseed, even though he may never have read a single book about them? They are part of the common cultural property of a people. In traditional societies, furthermore, creation and proliferation of stories was not encouraged. The audience would have felt disappointed and adrift if the performer were to launch into something entirely new. They come to the storytelling session to hear what they already know very well. I myself have felt this perennial urge. Seeing Lear presented, even in Eskimo dress, never wearies me; watching Macbeth, though in a Japanese setting, never bores me. It is well-known that many storytellers and, indeed, many genres of storytelling have a repertoire consisting entirely of one item, the Mongolian tale of Gesar[37] being a good example. Under such circumstances, it is the business of the storyteller to rework, recapture, and revivify the basic stuff of the story. To depart too far from the conventional mode of presentation would bring censure rather than praise. A scribe who transcribes what he may consider to be a unique performance is, in actuality, transcribing a tradition, a tradition that has been homogenised, digested, and assimilated through long practice on the part of the storyteller and his comrades and through repeated exposure on the part of the scribe. The tale belongs to no one and there are no totally unique performances. Though a given performer may be particularly renowned for his renditions of a particular tale, that tale is by no means his personal property. Afficionados of Peking opera are alert to spot, and criticize, singers who render a passage in an unconventional way. Complaints such as "Thats' not the way it's supposed to be sung!" are heard far more frequently than comments to the effect that "This is really an interesting and unusual, new way to sing it!"

Where there are multiple copies of the same transformation, we are not permitted to conclude necessarily that any one of these is the original and that the others have been

taken from it. For, so long as there are a substantial number of phonetic errors, we must assume that the transcriber had in mind more the sound than the shape of the story.[38] However, even when there are phonetic, orthographic, and other differences between two manuscripts (such as between the Maudgalyāyana story on S2614 and on P3485), it is still possible to identify them as representations of the same basic tradition. It is possible to do so because, in spite of the differences, it is obvious that the intention of the individuals responsible for the manuscripts was to tell the same story in approximately the same way. For this reason, the editors of T relied on no less than nine different manuscripts in establishing the recension of the Maudgalyāyana transformation text given on pages 714-44. There are legitimate complaints that such an editorial policy offers scholars only composite texts and that any serious research still requires that the originals themselves be consulted. But, in another sense, there is some slight justification for emphasizing that the authors or scribes of all nine manuscripts were attempting to record the same basic story and, therefore, that the similarities are more important than the differences. Where the variants are particularly few, it is even possible that one copyist was working from the text of another.

On the other hand, although they deal with the same subject, it is impossible to collate P2193 (T701-12) and PK2496 (T756-9) with the group of nine manuscripts referred to above. For it is clear that the differences are greater than the similarities. Indeed, these two manuscripts represent separate traditions, P2193 being a highly moralistic retribution story (that is, a "tale of conditioned origins," yüan-ch'i) focusing on Maudgalyāyana's mother and PK2496 (mislabelled by the T editors as a pien-wen) being a straightforward exposition of the Maudgalyāyana story written in a rather prosaic fashion.

Having discussed the relatedness of multiple copies of the same transformation text, I would like now to speculate on some possible reasons for their differences. The copies

are never identical, there being always at least some minor variations among the individual manuscripts. Occasionnally, there may even be changes in the basic structure of the narrative. It has been asserted[39] that the existence of multiple copies of a given pien-wen is proof that they were written down for professional use. But this is not necessarily true since the demand for written versions of favorite oral narratives would be far greater and would more readily account for numerous copies of the same transformation text were that demand to have originated from potential readers rather than potential performers. Just at the time the transformation texts were being written down, marginally or newly literate and affluent social groups such as the Buddhist laity and merchants were beginning to come into prominence. The difference (often negligible) from manuscript to manuscript may be attributable to the facts that the scribes and copyists were not themselves professionals, that they were influenced by repeated (but not identical) performances, and that there was bound to be a certain amount of variations because these are handwritten, not printed, texts with which we are dealing.

It is highly doubtful that P2319, an abridged Maudgalyāyana transformation text, could have been intended for performance. For it is the verse portions that have been consistently reduced in length from what they are in S2614. Below the title of P2319, we find the following remark: "Each of the verses (gāthā) [is cut short] after two or three lines by the notation 'and so forth and so on'" 其偈子每緘[40]三兩句後云乛是. Yet the verse, as we have seen, was the most important element of the narrative for the performer. The P2319 transformation text on Maudgalyāyana thus stands at a curiously opposite pole from the P4524 transformation text on Śāriputra which gives only the verse portion on the verso of the illustrations. Various techniques are used to abbreviate the prose portions of P2319 as well.[41] For example, when Maudgalyāyana arrives at the Avīci hell, P2319 declares that "the horrors therein cannot

be fully described" 此中惡事說不可盡. But S2614 proceeds to attempt the impossible:

> Swords and lances bristled in ranks, knives and spears clustered in rows. Sword-trees reached upward for a thousand fathoms with a clattering flourish as their needle-sharp points brushed together. Knife-mountains soared ten-thousand rods in a chaotic jumble of interconnecting cliffs and crags. Fierce fires throbbed, seeming to leap about the entire sky with a thundrous roar. Sword-wheels whirled, seeming to brush the earth with the dust of starry brightness. Iron snakes belched fire, their scales bristling on all sides. Copper dogs breathed smoke, barking impetuously in every direction. Metal thorns descended chaotically from mid-air, piercing the chest of the men. Awls and augurs flew by every which way, gouging the backs of the women. Iron rakes flailed at their eyes, causing red blood to flow to the west. Copper pitchforks jabbed at their loins until white fat oozed to the east. Thereupon, they were made to crawl up the knife mountains and enter the furnace coals. Their skulls were smashed to bits, their bones and flesh decomposed; tendons and skin snapped, liver and gall broke. Ground flesh spurted and splattered beyond the four gates; congealed blood drenched and drooked the pathways which run through the black clods of hell. With wailing voices, they called out to Heaven — moan, groan. The roar of thunder shakes the earth — rumble, bumble. Up above are clouds and smoke which tumble-jumble; down below are iron spears which jangletangle. Goblins with arrows for feathers chattered-scattered; birds with copper beaks wildly-widely called. There were more than several ten-thousands of gaolers and all were ox-headed and horse-faced.

There are at least two possibilities which might account for why P2319 is so scaled down, particularly in the verse. The prospective owner of the scroll may not have been willing or able to pay a copyist to reproduce the entire transformation text but still was attracted enough by it to want something more permanent than the performances themselves. The writing, while fairly neat and done on lightly ruled paper, is somewhat hurried. And there are a noticeable number of additions to the text which seems to indicate that the owner of the scroll or his friends supplemented from their own recollection certain details which the scribe had omitted. The other possibility which comes to mind is that the prospective owner may previously have managed somehow to obtain a scroll, illustrated perhaps, of the verse portions of the transformation text and he now wished to complement this with the prose portions. This is rather doubtful, however, for several reasons. In the first place, if the prospective owner of P2319 were primarily interested in obtaining the prose complement, would he allow a drastic reduction in the scope of the prose itself? Secondly, it is most unlikely that any performer would have been willing to part with an illustrated scroll of the P4524 type which bore only the verse. Such scrolls, as is clear from the Indonesian and Indian evidence, were jealously guarded by the performers who handed them down from generation to generation. This may also account for the crossing out of "with Pictures" in the title of S2614: they were simply unavailable.[42] In any case, P2319 gives the distinct impression[43] of having been copied from another written text that was itself already at a remove from the oral realm.

We are particularly fortunate in knowing the names of two individuals associated with the most important manuscript (S2614) of the Maudgalyāyana transformation text. Both names occur at the end of the manuscript, one in the colophon and the other, by another hand, separately. The colophon reads:

Written on the sixteenth day of the fourth month

> in the seventh (hsin-ssu) year of the Pure and Bright (Chen-ming) reign period by a lay student 學郎 of the Pure Land Monastery, Hsüeh An-chün 薛安(安)俊."

The date given is in accordance with May 26, 921 I.E. Below that we read 張保達文書 which Giles[44] takes to mean "Composition by Chang Pao-ta." Does Giles mean to imply by this that Chang Pao-ta was the author of the Maudgalyāyana transformation text? From what is known of the tradition of oral performance associated with the pien-wen, we may safely rule out such a possibility. Furthermore, wen-shu 文書 simply can not mean what Giles says it does. The expression has nothing to do with authorship. It means, rather, "document; official dispatch; secretary who writes such a dispatch; archives; etc." Hence we must understand that Chang Pao-ta is the keeper or owner of the manuscript which was copied by Hsüan An-chün. That is to say, S2614 was originally "Chang Pao-ta's book."

I have been unable to discover any additional references to Chang Pao-ta in the Tun-huang manuscripts. Hsüeh An-chün's name, however, occurs on at least two other manuscripts. One is P2054, a "General Exhortation to the Four Orders[45] to Cultivate and Practice the Way according to the Doctrine Following the Hours of the Day" 十二時普勸四衆依教修行 by Chih-yen 智嚴. The colophon states that it was

> transcribed 書 by the student 學子 Hsüeh An-chün on the seventeenth day of the fifth month in the second (chia-shen) year of the T'ung-kuang reign period [July 21, 924]. The faithful disciple, Li Chi-shun 李吉順, was responsible for this recitatinn to encourage goodness.[46]

It may be that Hsüeh An-chün and Li Chi-shun collaborated in the preparation of this manuscript, the latter reciting and the former copying down. In any event, it is valuable to

know what other types of manuscripts Hsüeh was involved in copying and also to know that, though he was a secular student in a Buddhist monastery, he associated with the declared faithful.

Hsüeh An-chün is also mentioned twice in the colophon of PK8668 which is an exhortation to observe the precepts.[47] Although Hsüeh An-chün is not here identified as a lay student studying at the Pure Land Monastery, the two individuals with whom he is associated in this colophon are so identified. The manuscript, which is dated the twenty-first of the first month (equivalent to February 13, 920), would appear to have been for Hsüeh An-chün's personal use 扎 (= 札 ?) 用 .

I have dwelt at length on Hsüeh An-chün because I believe it is imporant, in order to understand why transformation texts came to be written down, to know as much as possible about those who are in any way associated with these manuscripts. In the case of the Maudgalyāyana transformation text on S2614, it is significant that the manuscript was transcribed by a lay student in a Tun-huang monastery and owned by someone who, judging from his name, was probably also a layman.

Another transformation text which was definitely copied by a lay student is that on the Han general, Wang Ling 王陵 .[48] Thus we see that students were involved in copying transformation texts on both secular and religious subjects.

At least one extant transformation text was copied for pietistic reasons. This is the PK876 fragment of the Maudgalyāyana transformation text of which the colophon reads as follows:

> On the fifth day of the intercalary sixth [sic][49] month in the second, ting-ch'ou, year of the National Rebirth of Peace and Prosperity (T'ai-p'ing hsing-kuo) reign period [i.e., August 22, 977], the lay student Yang Yüan-shou[50] of the Manifest Virtue Temple, having pondered the matter by himself, made a vow to create blessings by writing

> in full this Transformation on Maudgalyāyana in one scroll. It is his determination that, in the future, together with Śākyamuni Buddha,[51] he shall be reborn[52] a Buddha once[53] he encounters Maitreya.[54] If, later, there are individuals[55] who, expressing a similar faith,[56] write out in full the Transformation on Maudgalyāyana, and similarly maintain the power of their vow,[57] they will avoid falling upon the three[58] paths[59] of hell.

It is especially interesting to note that Yang Yüan-shou not only decided to copy the Transformation on Maudgalyāyana for his own spiritual welfare but exhorted others to do so. This same name, Yang Yüan-shou, also appears in a circular of a lay religious association (S5631) dated in accordance with February 8, 980 (?)[60] as that of "announcements secretary" 帖社官 .

Two of the manuscripts (in booklet form) of the "Transformation of the Han General Wang Ling" bear inscriptions mentioning petty government officials. The colophon of P3627.1 was inscribed on the sixteenth day of the eighth month in the fourth year of the Heavenly Blessing reign period (in accordance with October 1, 939) by the Recording Officer, Yen Wu-ch'eng 孔目官閻物成 . The cover and two otherwise empty pages of the manuscript formerly owned by Shao Hsün-mei 邵洵美 and now kept in the library of Peking University bear several notations written in a different hand from the text. These are as follows:

> 1. The ninth month of the hsin-ssu year (921 I.E.?).
> 2. The third year of the National Rebirth of Peace and Prosperity (T'ai-p'ing hsing-kuo) reign period (978 I.E.). So Ch'ing-tzu 索清子 .
> 3. Inscribed by So Ch'ing-tzu, lay student of the Recording Officer.[61] 孔目官學仕郎 If, later, someone should read this aloud, please do not find fault.[62]

It is obvious that So Ch'ing-tzu expected others, who would have their own opinions on what was the correct story, to read his manuscript.

It is noteworthy that several of these manuscripts bear colophons that refer to the position of "recording officer," "bibliographic secretary," or "archivist" (k'ung-mu kuan 孔目官 or a variation thereof).[63] We may not assume, however, that holders of this position in Tun-huang were appointed by the central government or even that their duties were identical to central government appointees. In two instances the title occurs in close association with the standard designation of a lay student resident in a Buddhist monastery (hsüeh-shih lang 學仕郎). It is likely that this was a local appointment and that the authorities in Tun-huang borrowed the nomenclature of the central government.[64]

Another secular piece copied by an official surnamed So is the "Names of the Hundred Birds" 百鳥名 (S3835). This manuscript is dated to the twelfth month of a keng-yin year (930 I.E.?) and signed by the Chief Escort So Pu-tzu 押牙索不子 .

On the back of P3485 ("Maudgalyāyana Transformation Text") is a notation that this manuscript was "recorded by Chang Ta-ch'ing" 張大慶記 . We are most fortunate in having been able to identify the same name on another Tun-huang manuscript, S367, which consists of topographical and historical notes on cities in Turkestan under Chinese influence. The colophon to S367 reads:

> On the twenty-fifth day of the twelfth moon of the first year of Kuang-ch'i [February 2, 886], when the An-wei-shih-fu [Assistant Commissioner] of Ling-chou, Minister of State, arrived with his suite at the chou, Chang Ta-ch'ing in attendance on the Assistant Commissioner, made a copy of this document to serve as a record.[65]

This information is important in that it helps to give some idea of the status of one more individual who may have been responsible for writing down a transformation text and also because it provides an approximate date for the time when it was copied.

Two manuscripts on religious subjects not belonging to the transformation text genre are a lecture on the Sūtra of Deep Gratitude to Parents 父母恩重經 (P2418) and the "Conditional Origins (Nidāna) of Maudgalyāyana" 目連緣起 (P2193). Both bear the names of individuals who are clearly not lay Buddhist nor secular students. The latter has an inscription which states that it is a true copy of Chieh-tao ("Way of Differentiation [dhātu]") 界道眞本記.[66] The former was copied on the seventh day of the eighth month of the second year of the Heavenly Completion (T'ien-ch'eng) reign period (September 5, 927) by I-chüeh 一覺 ("Once Awakened"). A note which just precedes the inscription reads "To Instruct [parikṣeptṛ] the Populace, the Sixth" 誘俗第六.

A semivernacular narrative (S548v) of Prince Siddhārtha's attainment of the way has the following colophon:

> On the nineteenth day of the eighth moon in the chia-wu year, the fifth of Ch'ang-hsing [September 30, 934], the monk Hung-fu of the Lien-t'ai Monastery recorded the copying of the foregoing. Kept for reading and recitation by the monk Hui-ting. His friends are asked not to take it away.
>
> 長興伍年甲午歲八月十九日蓮臺寺僧洪福寫記諸耳. 僧惠定池 (for 持?) 念讀誦, 知人不取.[67]

This would seem to be fair indication that at least some Tun-huang manuscripts were passed around for reading by others than the owner himself.

Another religious piece (S1, see also P3361), the "Seat-Settling Text by the Late, Great Teacher Yüan-chien

('Full-Orbed Mirror') on the Twenty-four Exemplars of Filiality," which consists of 107 heptasyllabic lines, was composed by the Recipient of the Purple,[68] Yün-pien ("Cumulous Debater"), the Great Master of the Full-Orbed Mirror, Recorder of Monks[69] from the Right Side of the Thoroughfare. Yün-pien is known to have died in the year 951[70] and to have spent some time in Lo-yang where he wrote poems in the company of geishas.[71] In all likelihood, though not named, Yün-pien is also responsible for the "Seat-Settling Text by the Great Teacher, Recorder of Monks from the Right Side of the Thoroughfare" (S3728).[72]

It would be pointless to give here an exhaustive list[73] of all the names associated with these manuscripts for, already, a definite pattern has emerged. The overall impression one gets from reviewing the information available on the individuals mentioned in the various colophons and inscriptions is that many of them were copied by a body of lay students[74] who had not yet passed their examinations and who were enamored of popular storytelling. Some considered it an act of piety to have religious stories copied out even though these were decidedly noncanonical. On the other hand, canonical texts and lectures on them tended to be copied by individuals who were more directly affiliated with the Buddhist faith. In no case is the name of the author of a transformation text known to us.[75] Nor is it likely that any should be because the oral and collective nature of composition would militate against any single person being designated as the creator of a given transformation text.

In general, we may observe that genuine transformation texts, regardless of the subject matter, exist in manuscripts which were copied by lay students or other lay persons.[76] The same holds true for other types of popular narratives which do not deal with religious subjects. But, sūtra lectures and popular narratives with a pronounced religious content that are not transformation texts tend to be associated with monks and others who have taken obviously religious names. Monks might, however, occasionally

be involved in the transcription of secular (mostly non-narrative) literature. P3579.2, for instance, is a collection of poems by Po Chü-i and others. Date the twentieth day of the second month of the year 877, it was copied by a monk of the Ling-t'u Monastery 靈圖寺比丘寫.

Arthur Waley surmised[77] that many of the secular (or popular) manuscripts found at Tun-huang may have been written down by village schoolmasters. Although he does not provide us with the source of this surmise, Waley was probably moved to make such a statement on the basis of a remark made previously by Lo Chen-yü in the introduction to his Writings Preserved in the Howling Sands Stone Chamber.[78] While I have not been able to substantiate Waley's claim, it does not seem far from the mark, if by "village schoolmasters" he meant "local intelligentsia." Judged on the basis of the materials presented in this chapter, however, it would be slightly more accurate — so far as genuine transformation texts are concerned — to credit the students of village schoolmasters.

While searching for any bit of information regarding the copyists of the Tun-huang popular narratives, I was led to the registers of monks and nuns affiliated with the monasteries and nunneries of that area.[79] Although some of the same monasteries and nunneries appear in the registers as do in the colophons of the popular narrative manuscripts, in no case has it been possible to identify individuals listed in the registers with those monks who were responsible for copying various manuscripts of popular literature. This lack may be attributable to the fact that the registers and the manuscripts date from different eras. But it may also partly be due to the diverse geographic origin of the manuscripts and their copyists.

The colophons to various Tun-huang manuscripts reveal many other interesting facts about who did the copying, how they did it, and for what purpose. P2825, for example, is a copy of the Family Instructions of the Grand Duke (T'ai-kung chia-chiao 太公家教). The colophon, written on

the fifteenth day of the first month of the year 850, states that the text was "read by the student Sung Wen-hsien and written by An Wen-te" 學生宋文顯讀安文德寫. This indicates that oral transcription was involved in the writing of this text and thus that a high incidence of purely homophonic errors cannot be ruled out even when an already existing copy was utilized.

Several colophons in the corpus of Tun-huang popular literature are charged with a vivid sense of immediacy. The "Destruction of the Transformations of Demons"[80] (P2187) bears the following:

> On the tenth day of the eleventh month in the ninth year of the Heavenly Blessing reign period [November 28, 944], blowing on my brush which had frozen from the cold, I write this inscription.[81]
>
> Written by the Buddhist śramaṇa of the Dharma and Vinaya, Yüan-jung ["Vow-splendid"],[82] who resides in the Pure Land Monastery.

At the end of the lecture on the Vajracchedikāprājñāpāramitā-sūtra (P2133v):

> Copied behind the refectory on the x day of the first month in the sixth year of the True Brightness (Chen-ming) reign period [920]. Ch'ing-mi[83] ("Pure-esotericism") has accordingly inscribed it.[84]

The colophon of the transformation text on Śāriputra's subduing of demons, though it includes no name, helps to elucidate the fact that this type of literature was collectively inspired, performed, transcribed, and revised: "If anyone who reads this sees a part which is incorrect, I pray that he will correct it forthwith."[85] It would have been impossible for others to make the corrections here invited if the story, as transcribed, did not have broad currency. This particular colophon is also one of the grounds for my belief that transformation texts were meant

to be passed around and read.

The last line of the story of the capture of Chi Pu reads: "All that I have said is written up in the History of the Han; Do not say that the lyricist has sung untruly." (T71.4) A fully satisfying interpretation of this line is difficult to achieve. It does indicate, however, that this text — not a pien-wen — first, had some connection with an oral rendition and, secondly, was written down by someone who was aware of the classical source of the story.

"The Story of the Crown Prince of the House of Liu during the Former Han" (P3645) seems to have been written by a moderately educated individual. Several times classical texts are quoted and the language tends more to the literary than that of most Tun-huang popular narratives.

It is virtually certain that the P2794v manuscript of the Wu Tzu-hsü story was copied from another written text by someone who was only partially literate. Ungrammatical sentences and miswritten characters abound. There are many instances where the copyist jumps from the middle of one sentence to the middle of another without making any adjustments or indications in his writing (e.g., from T8.10.4 to 8.12.11 and from 16.2.3 to 16.2.25 (合). A probable explanation for this is that his eye skipped ahead. Elsewhere, the manuscript is garbled and repetitive, the work of a negligent or inexperienced copyist. The interspersed practice characters indicate that the latter is the more likely case.[86]

One of the lectures on the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa sūtra (P2292) bears the following informative colophons:

> On the ninth day of the eighth month in the tenth year[87] of the Kuang-cheng ("Broad Governance") reign period [September 25, 947], I wrote down this manuscript of the twentieth scroll at the Zen Temple of Serene Truth in West Szechwan [?].[88] Just as I finished the writing, it became dark. I don't know how I'll get back to my village.

> Now forty-eight years old, I am holding a lecture at Ying[89]-ming ("Responsive Brightness") Monastery in the prefecture. It is exceedingly hot.[90]

It would appear that this manuscript was for the personal use, in worship services, of the owner. The second colophon refers to a specific time and place when the contents of the scroll were presented to an audience. The mention of the age of the writer of the colophon, in particular, gives one the impression that the manuscript was a private possession. And the remark about the heat vividly conveys a sense of immediacy to the lecture itself.

The "Causal[91] Transformation on a Maiden in the Women's Palace of King Bimbisāra [Named] 'Intends to Create Merit' Who Is Reborn in Heaven for Having Given Her Support to a Stūpa" (P3051) has the longest colophon of all the Tun-huang popular narratives. Not only does it tell the names of both the author[92] and the copyist, it gives explicit reasons why the former undertook to compose it.

> The Law of the Buddha is broad, its power of salvation boundless. Whosoever pursues the Way with all his heart will certainly reap a reward. But I, Pao-hsüan ("Protector-Proclaimer") 保宣, among those who adhere to the gate of immateriality,[93] am of little art and, within the Brahmanic temples, am barren of talent. I am indisposed to a thorough understanding of the teaching of the sūtras and, in philosophical discussions,[94] lack penetrating knowledge. I have impulsively demonstrated my shortsightedness by piecing together the reasoning of esotericism. Not fearful of shame, I have gathered[95] these very profound parables of causation.[96]
>
> Personally inscribed by the Zen monk, Fa-pao ("Dharma-Protector") of the Three Realms[97] Monastery on the twentieth day of the fourth month

in the third (kuei-ch'ou) year of the Kuang-shun ("Broad Docility") reign period of the Great Chou dynasty [June 4, 953].

Other manuscripts from the same monastery which were written at approximately the same time are: "Nidāna on the King of Abhirati (?) 歡喜國王緣 (P3375v), which bears an inscription written by the Monk Chieh-ching ("Preceptively Pure") on the sixth day of the seventh month of an i-mao year (July 27, 955 ?); and copies of letters between the famous Western Han captives of the Huns, Li Ling 李陵 and Su Wu 蘇武 (S173), by Chang Ying-chün 張英俊, a lay student 學士郎, dated in accordance with July 19, 975.[98]

The survey of this second group of colophons on manuscripts of Tun-huang popular literature confirms the pattern which we saw emerging from examination of the first group and from other types of evidence. To wit, overtly religious texts such as sūtra lectures seem to have been written, copied, and owned by individuals who employed them in connection with actual worship service. The individuals involved tend, furthermore, to be professional religieux. Transformation texts, on the other hand, appear to represent an early stage in the development of the written story that was meant for reading but that ultimately derived from an oral context. Those involved in the production of such texts are largely local, lay intelligentsia who might, however, display a personal predilection for Buddhism.

** * **

During his travels to India (672 et seq.), the famous pilgrim, I-ching, observed that there were two categories of nonclerical pupils in the Buddhist monasteries, the mānavas who studied chiefly Buddhist works and who wished themselves eventually to become monks, and the brahmacārins who pursued secular studies and had no intention of changing

their way of life.[99] "In the monasteries of India there are many 'students' who are entrusted to the Bhikshus and instructed by them in secular literature."[100] There is no reason why a similar system of education should not have been transfered to Buddhist monasteries in China. Indeed, Zürcher gives[101] abundant evidence that, already in the fourth century, the monastery had developed the secondary function of an institute of secular learning and education. And it is known for a fact that many lay students during the T'ang period repaired to Buddhist precincts to pursue their secular studies.

This practice of pursuing a secular course of studies in the monasteries was most popular after the K'ai-yüan ("Epochal Beginning") reign period (December, 713-741).[102] Tun-huang was one of the favorite places for students to gather.[103] The frequent occurrence in the Tun-huang manuscripts of such terms as hsüeh-shih 學師 ("Instructor"), hsüeh-lang 學郎, hsüeh-shih-lang 學士 (or 仕郎), and hsüeh-sheng 學生 (the latter three terms all designating student status) attests to this.[104] The famous rescuer of Tun-huang from the clutches of the Tibetans, Chang I-ch'ao, was himself such a student. P3620 includes an untitled song and the following colophon: "The twenty-fifth day of the third month of 815 (or 827). Written by the student, Chang I-ch'ao" 未年三月二十五日學生張議潮写.[105]

Although Chang I-ch'ao was not awarded his own full biography in either of the two T'ang histories,[106] enough has been gleaned from various sources to allow Lo Chen-yü[107] and Hsiang Ta[108] to compile extensive biographical accounts of him. Chang I-ch'ao's most famous exploit is the expulsion of the Tibetans from the Kansu corridor. Tun-huang had fallen to them in the year 781. An early, brief account of Chang I-ch'ao's recapture of Tun-huang from the Tibetans in 848 may be found on S3329.[109] Chang profited by internal dissension amounting to civil war which had erupted among the Tibetans after the death of their king Glan Dar-ma in 842.[110] In the same year that he recaptured

Tun-huang, he founded the "Returning-to-Righteousness Army" (kuei-i chün 歸義軍) which remained the main force in the area until the arrival of the Tanguts sometime around 1030.[111] For his services, Chang was greatly honored by the central government and revered by the local Chinese populace. We know from S3329 that, after his military successes, Chang immediately sent a report to the emperor in Ch'ang-an by one Kao Chin-ta 高進達 and some others. Thereupon the emperor awarded Chang the title of President of the Ministry of War and conferred upon him a marquisate with the rank of 10,000 households 授兵部尚書萬戶侯.[112] He then served for a time as the military governor of the Ho-hsi region 河西節度使. In 867, Chang himself went to Ch'ang-an and died there in 872. Among his posthumous titles is that of Honorary President of the Ministry of Officials and Marquis of Ho-hsi with 10,000 households 檢校吏部尚書河西萬戶侯.[113]

Chang I-ch'ao was himself an enthusiastic supporter of Buddhism. We have already seen how he must have pursued some of his early studies in a monastery under the tutelage of monks. In 860, he dedicated cave 156 (Pelliot no. 17 bis) at Tun-huang. Paeans of praise are heaped upon him in the "Destruction of the Transformations of Demons" (T345.9, 345.11, 354.13, and 355.8). We know that, in the third month of the year 863, he presented to the emperor an exegetical work written by a monk named "Dharma-faith" (Fa-hsin 法信) from the area which he governed.[114] The noted Tun-huang clerical leader "Enlightenment-truth" (Wu-chen 悟眞) wrote two series of poems, "Passing of the Five Watches" (wu-keng chuan 五更轉) and "The Twelve Hours" (shih-erh shih 十二時) to praise him.[115] It is not at all surprising, then, to discover that Chang had been a lay student in one of the Tun-huang monasteries as a youth.

The educational establishment at Tun-huang was far more elaborate than the terms hsüeh-shih, hsüeh-lang, etc. alone can convey and included, as well, various professorial, administrative, and examinational authorities.[116] As I have

demonstrated earlier in this chapter and more fully in my article on "The Making of Written Vernacular Narrative," many of the manuscripts containing popular literature recovered from Tun-huang were copied by individuals from these circles. Buddhist monasteries in Central Asia were likewise centers of education, both theological and secular;[117] it is probable that the Indian educational patterns were transmitted through this area into China.

In China proper, the schools sponsored by Buddhist monasteries (ssu-hsüeh 私學) were essentially private academies (ssu-shu 私塾).[118] The studies undertaken there were by no means restricted to Buddhist subjects and might be entirely secular in nature:

> In the fourth month of the year 831, I pursued my studies at Hui-shan ("Grace Mountain") Monastery[119] and remained there for three years. Those works which I recited include: The Tso Chronicle of the Spring and Autumn Period, The Odes, The Changes, Ssu-ma Ch'ien's and Pan Ku's histories, "Encountering Sorrow" by Ch'ü Yüan, Chuang-tzu, Han-fei-tzu, letters, notes, and several hundred poetical compositions.[120]

In the Tun-huang story of Ch'iu Hu (S133), when the anti-hero takes leave of his wife to go into the mountains in preparation for becoming an official, the books he takes with him are the following (note the order listed): the Classic of Filial Piety, the Analects, the Book of History, the Chronicle of Tso, the Kung-yang and Ku-liang [Chronicles of the Spring and Autumn period], the Mao [recension of the] Odes, the Records of Ritual, the Chuang-tzu, and the Literary Selections [Wen-hsüan] (T155.6). Since the Wen-hsüan is included in this list, the Tun-huang story of Ch'iu Hu must have been written later than the first quarter of the sixth century when Hsiao T'ung 蕭統 (501-531) compiled it. It is curious that Ch'iu Hu actually receives his learning at the hands of

old Taoist adepts who are "well-versed in the Nine Classics and understand clearly the Seven Bibliographies." It would have been anachronistic to have Ch'iu Hu study with Buddhist savants since he was a man of Lu 魯 and his story was first written down during the Han dynasty. We may understand this as partially indicative of the T'ang popular (the manuscript is rather poorly written and replete with errors) conception of literati education.

The Tun-huang story of Shun as a boy has the hero study first the Analects 論語 and the Classic of Filial Piety 孝經, then the Mao [recension of the] Odes 毛詩 and the Records of Ritual 禮記 (T131.8 and 132.5).

In a discussion of preaching (ch'ang-tao 唱導) from chapter 13 of the Biographies of Eminent Monks by Hui-chiao 慧皎, the following suggestions to utilize different approaches for different audiences may be found:

> As for the first five groups,[121] it is necessary to speak incisively of impermanence[122] and to discourse trenchantly of repentance.[123] For[124] rulers and elders[125] it is necessary to cite popular allusions and interweave set phrases. For the numerous mass of commoners, it is necessary to point to events and construct shapes, to speak directly of what is seen and heard. For mountain folk and desert dwellers, it is necessary to use neighborly words and reproach with terms of guilt. When each of these variations 變態 arises from the situation at hand, it may be said that one knows both the time and the audience.[126]

The pedagogical idea being conveyed here is that the method of preaching should be suited for the person to whom it is directed. This is actually an explicit advocacy of the concept of upāya ("skill-in-means").

An awareness of the part of T'ang period Buddhist teachers of differing levels of literacy and their attempts to alleviate the difficulties of those with minimum proficiency is evident from such documents as S2577.[127] The main contents of this manuscript consist of the eighth scroll of the Lotus

Sūtra. But the manuscript also bears an extremely interesting and enlightening note:

> For beginning readers of this sūtra who do not recognize sentences, I[128] have punctuated it, though I have paid no attention to paragraphs nor have I mentioned the beginning and end of sections. Most of the sentences consist of four characters. I only punctuate those sentences which have other than four characters. But for those sentences which have four characters, I never add punctuation. Passages that are set off and the ends of lines are also used to distinguish new sentences.[129] In this fashion, too, separate distinctions have been made. Those who see this later, please do not blame me for[130] mispunctuation with vermilion [re]marks.

The author's final sentence indicates that some manuscripts would be passed around to an indeterminate number of readers. Compare the similar remarks at the end of S548v (on Prince Siddhārtha's attainment of the way) and the Peking University Library manuscript formerly owned by Shao Hsün-mei ("Transformation on the Han General Wang Ling").[131]

From P2249v,[132] we know that even someone who was newly or partially literate would try his best to write the names of Buddhist saints who figured prominently in the transformation texts. The first line of a set of practice characters on this manuscript is "Mahāmahāmahāmahāmahāmaudgalyāyana, first in supernatural [abilities]" 大大大大大目乾連神第一. Several lines later, g'iän 乾 (i.e., ga) is written five times in a row. And, again, "Mahāmaudgalyāyana, first in supernatural abilities" 大目乾連神通第一. Other practice titles given are those of the writings of Brahmacārin Wang[133] 王梵志書集 and of the famous book of homilies called "Family Instructions of the Grand Duke" 太公家教 (three times).

Inside a statue of the influential Tun-huang monk, Hung-pien 洪辯, a bag containing his ashes was discovered.

It was wrapped in crude paper on which were written a child's practice writing in a mediocre hand together with a teacher's comments.[134]

Other evidence of more widespread literacy in the T'ang than we are wont to assume comes from the travel account of the Arab 'Aḫbār aṣ-Ṣīn wa l-Hind, written in 851. In it we learn that "Poor or rich, small or great, all the Chinese learn to trace out the characters and to write." And "In each town there is a school and a schoolmaster to instruct the poor and their children: [these schoolmasters] are provided for by funds from the Treasury."[135] While the unwieldiness of the Chinese writing system prevented all but a very small percentage of individuals from attaining mastery of the written language, the contemporaneous evidence I have adduced indicates that there were various levels of literacy (or lack of it) ranging from those who could not even write their own names, to those who recognized a few ideograms, through those who could read and write several hundred of them with difficulty, and so on. We may thus assume that an incipient reading public for popular literary texts existed during at least the latter part of the T'ang. This would have constituted a powerful stimulus for the copying of such texts. It would also have served as a harbinger of the full flowering of popular printed literature during the Sung and later periods.

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Having gained some idea of who wrote down the transformation texts and who might have read them, we must now attempt to determine what type of individuals performed the transformations which served as their inspiration. We may begin by a discussion of what is known of the modus operandi et vivendi.

One of the most commonly held misconceptions concerning transformation texts is that they were the texts, records, promptbooks, or aides-mémoire used in connection with actual oral delivery. The usual formulation is that "transformation

texts are the hua-pen 話本 (or ti-pen 底本) for popular lectures 俗講 ."[136] Not only does this fly in the face of all that we know about the techniques and methods of storytellers generally which are observable in many countries today or are ascertainable through examination of historical documents, it is simply not borne out by scrutiny of the Tun-huang transformation text manuscripts themselves nor is it supported by any other Chinese source known to me. In short, the notion that transformation texts were used as promptbooks is an erroneous assumption that has gained such widespread currency only because it is the easiest way to explain away the otherwise troublesome existence of these texts. Without such a convenient excuse, one is obliged to cogitate mightily to devise a convincing explanation for the somewhat unsettling re-emergence of transformation texts in our midst after spending nearly a thousand years sealed up in a cave in Chinese Turkestan. Yet any formulation which posits the employment of transformation texts in popular lectures (i.e., lectures for laymen given by monks) is perforce made suspect by the fact that the former often have an entirely secular theme while the purpose of the latter was obviously religious. The lame contention that secular stories were told by properly ordained monks to attract audiences for their sermons is not convincing. No one has yet demonstrated satisfactorily that such a practice ever occurred in the T'ang period. It is but a hopeful supposition to account for the palpable reality of transformation texts.

In his article called "An Informal Talk on the Origins of pien-wen (Man-t'an pien-wen ti ch'i-yüan)," Chou Shu-chia delves into the Biographies of Eminent Monks (Kao-seng chuan 高僧傳) in an attempt to find the roots of sūtra lectures. But it is necessary to reiterate that there is no demonstrable relationship between sūtra lectures and transformation texts (or rather their oral predecessors). Furthermore, the individuals who presented these two types of oral literature were of entirely different social and religious status. The men who were included in the Biographies of Eminent Monks were ordained; the tellers of

transformations were folk entertainers and lay devotees who had no recognized status in the Buddhist ecclesia.

It has, nonetheless, been repeatedly asserted by numerous students of Chinese popular literature that eminent Buddhist monks were involved in popular lectures and the leap is then made from this to the further (and untenable) assertion that those who gave popular lectures also performed transformations. The first assertion deserves serious consideration because known Buddhist pedagogical practices during the T'ang period would have encouraged it; the second is unacceptable because there simply has been no satisfactory proof adduced to support it. Both assertions center around the person(s) of Wen-shu 文淑 and/or Wen-hsü 文潊 . I advisedly write "and/or" because it has never been shown that Wen-shu and Wen-hsü are the same individual. Without doubt, by far the most crucial passage for those who wish to connect Wen-hsü and/or Wen-shu with transformation performances is the following from the T'ang author Chao Lin's Record of Tales of Causation:

> There was a monk, Wen-shu, who held public talks for large crowds. He made a pretense of lecturing on the scriptures but it was all licentiousness and crudity. Dissolute persons egged him on and supported him. Doltish men and loose women liked to listen to him. The auditors packed themselves in. The temples respected and honored him, calling him a reverend.[137] The schools,[138] in imitation of his tunes, made songs and cantos. The common lot is easily tempted but those Buddhists who know the truth and are versed in literature thoroughly despise him.[139]

In the first place, I must confess that I am incapable of detecting in this passage a reference to transformations. Secondly, it seems obvious that this man, Wen-shu, is not portrayed as a genuine monk but that he is held by Chao Lin to be an imposter. Thirdly, competent Buddhist themselves rejected him. It is essential that all three of

these points be kept in mind as we survey some of the other important sources on Wen-shu and/or Wen-hsü.

The next item of evidence is taken from Tuan An-chieh's Miscellaneous Register of Ballads, under the heading which deals with the lyric meter (tz'u-tiao 詞調) "Wen-hsü-tzu" 文漵子:

> During the Ch'ang-ch'ing ("Lasting Celebration") reign period [821-24], there was a monk, Wen-hsü, who gave popular lectures (su-chiang) and was a talented reader of sūtras. His lilting voice stirred the villagers. The musician, Huang Mi-fan 黃米飯 ["Yellow Rice"?], composed this tune on the basis of his intonation in the recitation of Avalokiteśvara.[140]

The attitude of Tuan An-chieh toward Wen-hsü is so diametrically opposed to that of Chao-lin toward Wen-shu that we can scarcely believe them to be the same individual unless we assume an extremely high degree of subjectivity on the part of the two observers. The fact that the tunes of both were adopted by musicians may, however, lead some to identify the two individuals. I, personally, am not so inclined because of other data which are available for our consideration.

According to Chang Yen-yüan's A Record of Famous Paintings of Successive Dynasties, at the Bodhi Temple in Ch'ang-an, "on the east wall of the Buddha hall, there is a Bodhisattva who turns his eyes to look at people 轉目視人.[141] The Dharma Master Wen-hsü, for no reason at all, had an artisan lay on colors and so spoil it."[142] These two sentences do not warrant the identification of Wen-hsü as an explainer of transformation tableaux. In fact, Tuan Ch'eng-shih, who also records this incident in his Notes on Monasteries and Stūpas,[143] specifically identifies Wen-hsü as a "monk who gave popular lectures" 俗講僧, not a transformation performer. Ono Katsutoshi, in his annotations to the passage in question, has the following note:

> The Hsüeh Chin T'ao Yüan edition and the Chin Tai Pi Shu edition both have 文漵 Wen-hsü, whereas

the Wang Shih Shu Hua Yüan edition and Tuan Ch'eng-shih's (段成式 ? — 863) Sze T'a Chi 寺塔記 (Chi-ku-ko edition) give his names as Wen-shu 文淑.[144]

Ono goes on to quote from an entry in Ennin's Diary for the ninth day of the first month in the year 841. I here offer the translation (with a slight modification) of the relevant portions by Reischauer:

> An Imperial order was sent to seven monasteries in the left and right streets to hold lectures for laymen 俗講. Three of the places [are] in the right streets: the Hui-ch'ang-ssu had Wen-hsü 文潡 Fa-shih, who is a Court Priest, a Debater of the Three Teachings, a Reverence Granted the Purple, and a Personal Attendant Priest, lecture on the Lotus Sutra. He was the foremost Priest to give lectures for laymen in the city. I have not yet obtained the names of lecturers at the Hui-jih-ssu 惠日 and the Ch'ung-fu-ssu 崇福.[145]

The very high status and great dignity of Wen-hsü are thus confirmed by Ennin who is one of the most reliable reporters of the religious scene during the T'ang period. His observations are supported by other evidence.

Both the Extensive Register of Great Tranquillity and Diffuse Notes from the Ward of Blue-Green Fowl quote a passage from Mr. Lu's Miscellaneous Talks (Lu Shih tsa-shuo 盧氏雜說) about Wen-hsü.[146] It is clear from this account that the Dharma Master of great virtue (bhadanta), Wen-hsü, was a man of high rank and esteem for he had won admittance to the palace. He committed an offense, however, and was banished, When this happened, his disciples gathered up his books and continued to lecture in the manner for which he was famous. The Emperor Wen-tsung 文宗 (r. 827-840), who was something of a musician himself, adopted Wen-hsü's "sound" as a canto and called it "The Master Wen-hsü" 文潡子. This account is in substantial agreement with that given[147] for the origin of the lyric meter of the same

title in the Miscellaneous Register of Ballads.

Unfortunately, the problem of Wen-shu and/or Wen-hsü[148] is compounded by the fact that, if they were indeed two different individuals, they must have been contemporaries or near-contemporaries.[149] And the problem is further exacerbated by the anti-Buddhist bias of Hu San-hsing's commentary to the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government. Ssu-ma Kuang had written under the chi-mao day of the sixth month of the year 826 that "the Emperor paid a visit to the Temple of Nascent Blessings (興福寺 [in Cultivation of Virtue Ward 修德坊]) to watch the śramaṇa Wen-hsü give a popular lecture."[150] Under the year 826, the Unified Chronology of the Buddhist Patriarchate 佛祖統記 (ch. 42) has this entry: "The Emperor paid a visit to the Temple of Nascent Blessings to watch the śramaṇa Wen-hsü 文敍 lecture on a sūtra. The Emperor declared that he was good."[151] Hu's comment on this event belittles Buddhist evangelism to such a degree that even the serious and well-intentioned discussion of the doctrine is made to have a base purpose: "When the Buddhists preach, it is in the category of talking about emptiness, but the popular lectures cannot elaborate the meaning of emptiness. All they do is make the people happy and then invite donations." Hu, writing approximately 500 years after the historical event, displays here not his knowledge but his prejudices. Still, his words carried influence and anyone reading about Wen-hsü with Hu's commentary as a guide would tend to think that the eminent monk was quite unscrupulous.

This is a crucial issue (viz., whether Wen-hsü is Wen-shu), for upon it hinges so much of the argument that eminent monks were involved in supposedly disreputable transformation performances. Naba Toshisada made a thorough study[152] of the relevant materials and came to the conclusion that it is likely that Wen-hsü was the famous monk who gave lectures for laymen and Wen-shu the entertainer who regaled mixed audiences with suggestive songs. On the basis of presently available evidence, it is not

permissible to claim with any certitude that Wen-hsü told risqué stories in the presence of mixed crowds. Nor is it possible to say with any assurance that Wen-shu, who did tell such stories, was an eminent monk who lectured before emperors. Above all, there is not a shred of evidence linking either Wen-shu or Wen-hsü — whoever they might be — to the performance of transformations.

The possibility of confusion between monk and picture storyteller is, however, a real one and is partly due to the desire of the storyteller to be granted a higher degree of respectability than his profession is customarily accorded.[153] For an example from a later period, the "Taoist storyteller," T'an Erh-yin 談爾音, in The Gallant Maid (Erh-nü ying-hsiung chuan 兒女英雄傳) only pretends to be a priest. He actually has no credentials as a Taoist but is simply a storyteller (though one with a very checkered past) who dresses up like a priest because that is a customary garb for the profession he has assumed. In India, beggars of various sorts who carry about a religious icon and tell stories concerning it often attempt to pass themselves off as holy men or women. For example, Haraprasād Sāstri, writing sometime before 1911, stated that "The so-called Brahmins who beg with the image of Śītalā in their hands and come from Howrah and Midnapore districts are all Dharmagharia Yogis."[154] A comparable phenomenon in Japan has caused some confusion regarding the social status of etoki (picture storytellers). For similar reasons, modern interpreters of T'ang transformation performers have consistently, but erroneously, referred to them as monks. If they were "monks," they were so only in a highly qualified sense.[155]

Even supposing that Wen-hsü and Wen-shu were the same person, though the evidence here adduced shows that such a supposition is uncritical, the whole issue may be said to be irrelevant to the study of transformation performances and and transformation texts since neither Wen-hsü nor Wen-shu can be shown to have had any connection with these forms of oral and popular literature. I have discussed it at such length only because it is taken for granted by most students

of Chinese popular literature that he/they did.

On the verso of PK2496 is a list of sums received by monks in payment for certain chanting which they had done. Because the recto of the scroll is a fragment of a transformation text on Maudgalyāyana rescuing his mother, Jaworski reasons as follows:

> Nous pouvons en déduire que les donateurs, payant les frais des messes et d'offrandes pour le repos des âmes en peine, demandaient également aux moines l'exécution des pien-wen, comme de nos jours encore, ils engagent des troupes d'acteurs pour donner des représentations théâtrales. Pendant l'été 1935 j'ai eu l'occasion, à Harbin, d'assister à une représentation de Mou lien kieou mou hi [目連救母戲], donnée aux frais d'un riche marchand pendant la fête d'Avalambana.[156]

As I have often pointed out elsewhere in this study, there is no hard-and-fast evidence that it was monks proper who were the performers of transformations. The contents of the recto and verso of PK2496, as is usual with Tun-huang manuscripts, bear no necessary relationship to each other. Furthermore, we know for an observable fact that funeral dramas in Taiwan are not performed by monks or priests but by actors who, admittedly, sometimes pass themselves off as quasi monks or para-priests. Jaworski's own experience in China — indeed, his own statement here — should have alerted him to the fact that religious entertainment, like religious art, is most often provided by laymen whose professional or semi-professional occupation it is, rather than by monks or priests. Put differently, it might be said that religious entertainers — in distinction to ordained experts in charge of formal, doctrinal instructinn and ritual — are neither members of religious orders nor of the priesthood. This does not preclude their associating very closely with monks or priests. It is plain in Taiwan today, for example, that the two types of individuals — the professional religious and the lay devotee — work closely

together at many points of contact with the people. We may observe, as has Hans-Dieter Evers[157] for Ceylon, that each social stratum except the very lowest has its own type of religious, "vic. the Bhikku (buddhist monk), the Kapurāla (in Ceylon sometimes called 'peoples' priest') and the Edurā ('exorcist')."

In order to distinguish clearly between transformations and formal religious discourse held for lay audiences, we must study the latter in some detail. The term "popular lecture" (su-chiang 俗講) seems to appear[158] for the first time in the Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks (Hsü Kao-seng chuan 續高僧傳), compiled by Tao-hsüan (596-667) in the year 645. In 629, Shan-fu 善伏, a future monk, had been introduced to a Confucian academy by the Prefect of Ch'ang-chou (in modern Kiangsu). But he was always out listening to "popular lectures" during the day and reflecting on Buddhist doctrine during the evening. For this he was reprimanded by the learned doctors (po-shih 博士) who were his teachers.

There is no lack of primary sources for the study of the precise nature and content of popular lectures. P3849v contains two texts[159] which outline the steps for carrying out a popular lecture (the words su-chiang 俗講 actually occur in the first of the two) service which focuses on a Vimalakīrti sūtra lecture. The service, which is conducted chiefly by a Master of the Dharma (fa-shih 法師), begins with a recitation of the Sanskrit (fan 梵). The Bodhisattva is invoked twice and then the "seat-settling [text]" (ya-tso 押座) is chanted. Various stages of the sūtra lecture itself are described, including an "ornamentation" (chuang-yen 莊嚴, alaṃkāraka) and the invocation of the Buddha. After the sūtra lecture is finished, the ten "perfections" (shih po-lo-mi-to 十波羅蜜多, pāramitā) are explained. Hymns praising the Buddha are chanted and vows are made. The Buddha is once again invoked and vows are made to transfer the merit of the service to others, after which the congregation disperses. P3770[160] carries the actual title "Text for the Ornamentation and Transfer

of Merit (parinamana) of a Popular Lecture" 俗講莊嚴迴向文. S4417 also gives the order of service for popular lectures. In the third section of fascicle three of Yüan Chao's 元照 (1048-1116)[161] "Records of Copied Materials to Aid in Behaving according to the Four-Fold Vinaya" 四分律行事抄資持記 entitled "Chapter on Explaining to and Leading the Common People" 釋導俗篇,[162] lectures for laymen are also described in terms similar to those of the Tun-huang orders of service.

From an examination of these primary texts and other sources, it is clear that su-chiang ("popular lecture") is the name for a religious service which may include various types of liturgical and exegetical texts (such as invocations and sūtra lectures) but not transformation texts. This is further evidence that the individuals responsible for the performance of transformations and those responsible for holding religious services were different.

After intensive investigation[163] of the subject, Fukui Fumimasa-Bunga concluded that the practice of popular lectures (su-chiang) has an Indian origin. Indeed, even though Buddhist services were held in Chinese, there was still an effort to maintain an Indian aura about them. On P3334, for example, there is an inscription which accompanies a "Preaching Text for Śrāvakas" 聲聞唱道(=導)文. One line in the inscription says that "The master of precepts who [sings] Indian [style] sounds mounts the high platform" 梵音戒師昇高座.

It is more in agreement with the chronological and evolutionary development of Chinese popular literature to say that the historical and other non-Buddhist transformation texts were an extension of a religious form into the secular realm than to say that Buddhist priests consciously used secular storytelling as a drawing card for their religious lectures. The latter interpretation has been adumbrated by Kenneth Ch'en:

> The pien-wen is not exclusively concerned with Buddhist subjects. Judging from the titles of

> some of them, they also dealt with Chinese historical subjects.... In such instances, it is thought that the Buddhist monks who composed these pien-wen decided to include some Chinese historical episodes with which the audience was familiar for the purpose of holding their interest.[164]

In spite of the widespread acceptance of such a viewpoint, there is no positive evidence which indicates that ordained monks in the T'ang dynasty told historical stories as some sort of ploy to keep up the interest of their auditors. What evidence is available points to lay performance of religious transformations and to their early secularization, a widening out into a larger public for performance by individuals who were more entertainers than monks. By "early," I mean that the evidence for the broad currency of secular transformations in China shows that they appeared no later than seventy-five years after religious transformations (both in the eighth century). Hence, the "drawing card" assertion is strictly hypothetical. While it is superficially attractive, it collapses upon closer examination because it simply does not fit with the facts. We should, therefore, dispense with the notion that Buddhist priests told risqué stories to pack in their audiences and then blithely switched to more pious subjects. There may well have been, as certain Confucian critics claimed, "monks" who told off-color stories, "priests" who were acclaimed for their musical talent, and entertainers who told captivating stories about religious subjects. But it is essential that none of these be confused with Buddhist evangelists and lecturers whose purpose, first and foremost, was to convey the substance of Buddhist doctrine.

The section on evangelism (ch'ang-tao 唱導) in Hui-chiao's (Liang dynasty) Biographies of Eminent Monks 高僧傳 provides ample documentation of the dedicated purpose of Buddhist preachers to discount decisively any rumor of their rampant impropriety. What all of this leads to is the recognition that entertainment and evangelism were

two separate activities pursued by two different groups. Naturally an evangelist might be somewhat entertaining in his presentation and an entertainer might effectively convey some religious truth. Though the dividing line was, at times, somewhat hazy, these were essentially separate professions.

The division between secular storytelling and religious discourse at Tun-huang is paralleled by an analogous separation in the Benin area of Nigeria. There the professional storyteller is differentiated from the priest even though they may both relate the same myths. Their method of relating the myth is also different. But the priest may at times act in the role of the storyteller and adopt the storyteller's mode of presentation.[165] In Hasidic Jewish communities, a similar situation obtains when a rabbi joins in a social gathering where people take turns telling tales. He is not then functioning as the religious leader of the community but simply as one of its members.[166] Even in the latter context, it is worth recalling Y.W. Ma's observation that:

> The simple act of telling a tale, especially when done in a private circle to fulfill a function of personal communication, has to be distinguished from the conscious act of professional storytelling executed in a formalized manner in a public situation, particularly in the presence of an audience that comes primarily for this type of entertainment.[167]

An adequate account of oral narrative during the T'ang period must take into consideration the differences in social status and method of delivery among monks who give religious lectures for the laity, private raconteurs, and professional storytellers such as transformation performers.

There were, admittedly, monks called Populace Converting Dharma Masters 化俗法師 who specialized in preaching to the common folk and "travelling monks and nuns" 游[化行]僧 who went from village to village preaching. Yet, here again, we should be wary of equating either of

these two types with popular entertainers. The former usually restricted themselves to the exposition of sūtras and the latter were limited in their activity by strict government regulation.[168]

It is remarkable that, in the Biographies of Eminent Monks, which contains accounts of the lives of nearly 500 monks, I have not been able to uncover a single mention of pien or pien-wen. This implies one or the other of the following: 1) pien-wen (or its oral precursors) had not developed by the Liang period; 2) pien-wen was not performed by eminent monks. Actually both of these statements are probably true. Neither is it possible to document the existence of transformation performances and texts before the T'ang period nor is there any proof that, even in the T'ang, eminent monks were responsible for them. Several times, I have scanned the various continuations of the Biographies of Eminent Monks for later dynasties and have not come across any reference to pien-wen in them either. The conclusion which again presents itself is that transformation performances and transformation texts were not the business of monks (at least not eminent monks) but of quasi religious or secular entertainers drawn from among the commoners. We must, therefore, be very cautious about accepting the validity of such statements as "For the most part, pien-wen has its origins in Buddhist preaching."[169] What kind of "Buddhist preaching"? Done by whom? For what purpose? In what setting? For what type of audience? Other statements, such as the following, are more subtly misleading: "The nucleus of the pien-wen is...an episode taken from a Buddhist sutra and greatly expanded by fanciful embellishments for the purpose of catching and holding the interest of the audience."[170] In the first place, many transformation texts (including religious ones) have little or nothing to do with Buddhist sūtras. And, secondly, the primary intent of most transformatinn texts — particularly the secular ones — was to entertain and not to edify. Edification may have been a factor in the consciousness of the creators of some pien-wen but it was a secondary one. Sūtra lectures and preachers,

on the other hand, wanted above all to convey religious truths.

It seems slightly odd to claim, as does Su Hui-ying,[171] that pien-wen was not confined to temples but had broad acceptance among the people. What requires documentation are, rather, the presence and nature of transformation presentations in temples. All the contemporaneous evidence concerning public transformation performances which I have been able to gather[172] deal with events that took place outside of temples. And, while the existence of countless transformation tableaux in temples of the T'ang period and a century or so before points to their undoubted oral explanation, I know of not a single contemporary description of such a presentation. My interpretation of the available data is that there were, indeed, narrative paintings in temples and caves that were intended to disseminate Buddhist doctrines and legends and that may have served as illustrations for religious instruction. Bur oral pien and its written derivative, pien-wen, were the products of profane (in the etymological sense) entertainers.

Further, with regard to the social status of pien-wen, nowhere in my reading of the Chinese Tripiṭaka[173] do I ever recall having encountered the term pien-wen. Since the phenomena is Buddhistic and was demonstrably widely current during the T'ang period,[174] we must conclude that it had no canonical or scriptural status and that, being a product of folk and popular cultures, it was ignored by the elite monks who compiled and edited the canon and the various individual texts which constitute it. And yet we cannot ignore the fact that pien performances began as folk, religious entertainment of a quintessentially Indo-Buddhist kind.

This may be the most appropriate juncture to explain that I subscribe to the heuristic division of culture into folk, popular, and elite of such folklorists as Henry Glassie.[175] By "folk," I refer to the customs, crafts, and creations of the large masses of people — most of whom

historically have been peasants. In the majority of cases, folk culture has no direct reliance on or recourse to written texts. "Popular" refers to the culture of the town- and city-dweller or village intelligentsia (such as local schoolmasters and scribes) who usually possess minimal or medium levels of literacy. By "elite," I intend the culture of the highly literate, be they of whatever power or position. Naturally, these levels of culture have some relationship to social and economic status and are not determined solely by level of literacy. Furthermore, as Glassie maintains, the boundaries dividing these three levels are neither rigid nor clear-cut:

> Although considered to be 'levels of society,' these abstract distinctions are most useful when thought of as opposing forces having simultaneous existence in the mind of every individual, though one or another of the modes of thinking may predominate in certain individuals or in the groups they combine to form.[176]

Thus, to elaborate somewhat, by "folk" I mean essentially "unlettered" or "untutored." A folk artist or craftsmen receives no formal training in his specialty ("formal" implying attendance at a school or academy). He has, however, in many cases, been apprenticed to someone with lifelong experience in his calling, often his father or another relative. As a result, tradition plays a strong, shaping role in this segment of culture. His language is colloquial and dialectical.

By "popular" I refer to individuals and works whose audiences consist of the mass of urban dwellers. Those who occupy this realm tend to be relatively receptive to experimentation and innovation. The popular artist or performer is, in most cases, both trained by and affiliated with a guild or similar organization which works both to maintain professional standards and look out for his welfare. He usually has minimal literacy, particularly with

regard to his own trade, and the language which he uses is normally the vernacular koine.

The highest levels of culture I refer to as the "elite." The elite artist or author has normally received formal instruction in his speciality and is highly literate. He is capable of writing and reading the classical language but he may, occasionally, because of his contact with lower levels of culture, write pseudo-popular works for his own pleasure and for his peers to enjoy sub rosa. He tends to avoid giving the appearance that his serious work has a purely mercenary motive. Rather, he feels that his purpose is to provide intellectual or moral stimulation. His art or literature is frequently governed by rigid categories of taste, form, and content.

By dividing culture into three levels of folk, popular, and elite, I do not mean to imply that this division corresponds to a binding actuality in society. There are, of course, as many gradations of culture as there are people. Hence, it is easy to conceive of a village folk artist who can read popular short stories or an urban entertainer who writes passable poetry in genres usually thought of as belonging somehow to the literati. And the mere fact that a given art form has a folk origin does not preclude its being appreciated and patronized by the elite. The high prices paid for "primitive art" is one example of this. Another, more directly related to our studies, is the esteem with which certain dalangs ("shadow-play narrator-manipulator") have been held in Indonesia. As Encink reports, "At a time when one litre of rice cost a hundred rupiyahs or thereabout and the salary of a university professor was not more than Rp. 10,000 a month, the fee of an excellent dalan in Jakarta amounted to Rp. 60,000 for one performance."[177] Conversely, folk art or literature may, through various channels, borrow much from classical and canonical sources — but not without shaping them to its own ends. Hence, the tripartite classification of culture is but a rough extrapolation from a huge and amorphous body of data that is provided strictly for the purposes of discussion.

Yet it is hoped that the threefold classification here proposed[178] is at least reflective of real-life contexts.

Chapter Six Evidence for the Existence of Transformation Performances

There are two contemporaneous references to transformations in the T'ang period that have been cited by most competent authorities on the subject. Since they are so precious on account of their rarity and have not yet been critically analyzed or translated into English in their entirety, it is necessary for me to record them here. I will also attempt to extract from them data regarding performance and acceptance at different social levels that has not been brought out before.

The first is a poem by Chi Shih-lao 吉師老 entitled "Watching the Girl from Shu Perform[1] the 'Transformation on Wang Chao-chün' 昭君變 ."

> Before this charming woman donned her pomegranate skirt,
> Her home, she says, was by the bank of the Brocade River;[2]
> Her red lips know ho to unravel events of a thousand years,
> Her clear words mixed with sighs tell a tale of autumn sorrows.[3]
> Where her pencilled eyebrows join, there seems the southern moon of Ch'u,
> But when she opens her picture scroll, there are clouds beyond the northern passes;
> Having told fully the regrets of the fair lady in those days of yore,
> Her thoughts turn from Chao-chün to her countrywoman Wen-chün.[4]

Although we do not know the details of Chi Shih-lao's life, this poem most likely was written in the middle or late T'ang as were the majority of poems in Wei Hu's collection where it appears. It certainly dates from before the early tenth century when Wei completed his compilation.

The poem describes the performance of a transformation on the story of Wang Chao-chün by a female entertainer from the Szechwan area. The details of Chao-chün's selection as a palace beauty during the reign of Yüan-ti (48-33 B.I.E.) and her subsequent fate of being given to the Hunnish chieftain to procure peace are well known and need not detain us here. Nor need we dwell on the checkered love of Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju 司馬相如 (d. 118 B.I.E.) and Cho Wen-chün 卓文君 (also from the Szechwan area) in the last line which is, after all, only a way of saying that, having finished her performance, the girl thinks of her own plight. What is important for our purposes is the wealth of significant primary data concerning the nature of transformation performances that can be gleaned from the poem. In the specific instance here recorded, it is noteworthy that there is but a single performer and that the performer is a woman. It is also essential to note that she is not a Buddhist religieuse, but a professional, secular entertainer. That she is from Szechwan may also be significant in terms of the connection which that area had to Tun-huang and thence to Central Asia. She would appear to be wearing a distinctively colored dress. Her most important piece of equipment is a picture scroll although we can not tell whether it is hand-held or placed in a stationary position during performance. At any rate, this corroborates the other evidence I have assembled in this study which demonstrates that transformation performances utilized narrative picture scrolls. In fact, we may say that this poem stands as incontrovertible proof of the correctness of that assertion.

Since there exists a Tun-huang transformation text on Wang Chao-chün (P2553),[5] this poem also raises the fundamental question of the relationship between orally performed transformation and written transformation text. While there may have been verses or other prompt-words written on the back of her scroll as with P4524 (the illustrated Śāriputra transformation) and P5019 (Meng Chiang-nü transformation [?]), it is doubtful that a singing girl from the banks of the Brocade River in Szechwan could have written her own

text. Be that as it may, the emphasis in this poem is on the visual aspects of the performance (the beauty of the performer, the scenes depicted on the scroll and her ability to bring them to life) as well as the aural ones (her sandalwood-shaded lips "tell fully" the tale of the heroine). The people attending this performance, including Chi Shih-lao, obviously are enjoying a multi-media event; they have not come to witness a reading.

The extant transformation text on Wang Chao-chün can be dated confidently on the basis of internal evidence[6] to the late eighth or early ninth century.[7] Nemoto Makoto has attempted to show that it was written down sometime between 772 and 780.[8] In any case, oral transformations of the type described by Chi Shih-lao surely were the forerunners of the written transformation text that has come down to us. Since the written transformation text on Wang Chao-chün may be from a slightly earlier time than that of Chi Shih-lao's poem, it is evident that the transition from oral performance to written text did not immediately lead to the demise of the former. It seems, rather, that both types could exist simultaneously for a time although the oral performance is obviously primary.

There is some ground for holding that entertainers from the Yunnan-Szechwan area who specialized in the Wang Chao-chün story were active throughout China before the transformation text came to be written down. A poem by Wang Chien 王建 (Advanced Scholar c. 775) called "Watching the Szechwanese Entertainer" 觀蠻妓[9] begins "As she is about to tell the story of Chao-chün, she knits her pencilled brows" (cf. line 5 of the Chi Shih-lao poem) and ends with an appreciative youth in the audience throwing her money and shouting "Bravo! Bravo!" I have translated man 蠻 (usually "southern barbarian") as "Szechwanese" on the basis of Chang T'ai-yen's explanation[10] of the usage of that word in the Szechwan area. Yunnan was called by the inhabitants of Szechwan man-ti 蠻地 ("southern barbarian land") and maids in Szechwan, possibly because many of them had Yunnanese tribal backgrounds, were referred

to simply as man 蠻 while male slaves were called man-nan 蠻男 ("southern barbarian men"). The appellation is patently derogatory in a social class sense. Unfortunately, Wang Chien's short poem focusses on the singing ability of his performer and makes no mention of a painted scroll or of transformations.

Still another piece of contemporaneous evidence regarding the Ming-chün (i.e., Chao-chün) transformation may be found in a poem by Li Ho (790-816) about the beauty and talent of a girl surnamed Cheng. She had been a singing-girl who came to Loyang and became so admired there that a scion of the noble Hsü family took her as his favorite. Li Ho wrote a poem for her entitled "A Song for the Young Gentleman Hsü's Lovely Lady Cheng" 許公子鄭姬歌. The penultimate quatrain of the poem has been translated by Frodsham as follows:

> On a long scroll of costly paper,
> The ballad of Ming-chün.
> Gliding from note to note, her song
> Pierced the sapphire clouds
> Vanity-patches on her cheeks,
> She trod the eastern road —
> Now the long-browed girls of the gay quarters
> See very few guests.[11]
>
> 長翻蜀紙卷明君
> 轉角含商破碧雲
> 自從小靨來東道
> 曲裏長眉少見人

Although the girl Cheng is not here said to have "pencilled brows" as were the performers in the poems by Chi Shih-lao and Wang Chien, it is significant that she is able to attract the patrons of the "long-brows." But the key words, for the purpose of our discussion, are those of the first line: ch'ang fan Shu-chih chüan Ming-chün. Frodsham follows Saitō and Suzuki[12] in understanding this to refer to a

yüeh-fu ("Music Bureau") ballad. However, such an understanding presents the insuperable difficulty of there being no verb in the entire line. Numerous other interpretations have been put forward to explain this line. Wang Ch'i (fl. 1758) believed that it refers to the lady Cheng's artistic talent while the succeeding line refers to her singing abilities.[13] But since she was an entertainer, there is no necessary reason to assume that she was accomplished in painting. Furthermore, nowhere else do we find that Cheng was good at painting. Indeed, the line in question can only yield such a meaning after a certain amount of violence has been done to it. Wu Cheng-tzu (Sung) states simply that 翻 is equivalent to 番 "a time, a turn" (by which he must mean 幡 or 旛 "pennant, streamer, banner") and hence that ch'ang fan means 長幅 "a long strip."[14] Yet this does not really explain the line. Yao Wen-hsieh seems to indicate that Ming-chün refers to a melody (ch'ü 曲) and fan to the singing of it.[15] This, however, strays too far from the original wording of the line. Ch'ien Yin-kuang 錢飲光 felt that the line "appears to mean that, for long periods of time, she would spread out for her enjoyment the picture of Ming-chün" 似以明君圖長在手展玩耳.[16] This interpretation commendably makes mention of a picture but incorrectly has the line signify a pastime of Cheng rather than her renowned ability to entertain. Ch'iu Chi-chen 丘季貞 claimed that ch'ang fan Shu-chih means "record a tune" 乃錄曲也 and that chüan Ming-chün means "to be written inside a booklet" 書於册内[17] but, given the usual semantic content of the words in question, this flies in the face of all logic.

It has been necessary to treat the commentaries to this single line of poetry by Li Ho at such exhaustive length to discover whether any of them point to a performance of song in which illustrative pictures are employed. It would appear that none have interpreted the line in this fashion. Yet, given the more explicit reference to such renditions discussed above in connection with the Chi Shih-lao poem and the very words of the line itself,[18] the conclusion

that Li Ho is here describing Cheng's use of transformation pictures seems unavoidable. Thus the line should be interpreted "She unrolls the long strip of Szechwan paper, spinning a tale of Ming-chün"[19] or some such.

The second important contemporaneous reference to transformations in the T'ang that has frequently been cited by students of the subject is an exchange of repartee between Po Chü-i (772-846) and another poet, Chang Hu 張祜. It appears, among other places, in two T'ang sources and one Sung encyclopedia.[20] The differences among the three texts raise some very significant questions that have hitherto been overlooked. I shall translate the relevant portion of the passage as it is recorded in the Extensive Register of Great Tranquility (T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi) and compare it with the other two texts.

Po Chü-i assumed the position of Governor of Soochow sometime after the latter part of the third month in the year 825.[21] Chang Hu, whom he had never met before, came to visit him.

> Po said, "I have long admired your excellent reputation and recall your poem of legal interrogation."[22]
>
> Surprised, Hu asked, "To which poem are you referring?"
>
> Po replied: "'Where was the belt inlaid with mandarin ducks thrown?/ To whom[23] was the gauze blouse decorated with peacocks given?'[24] If these are not legal interrogations, what are they?"
>
> Chang nodded and smiled faintly. Then he looked up and answered, "And I recall your 'Maudgalyāyana Transformation.'"
>
> "What?" asked Po Chü-i.
>
> Chang replied: "'Above he travelled to the end of the blue heavens, below he went to the Yellow Springs,/ But in neither of these boundless places did he find her.'[25] If these are not lines from the 'Maudgalyāyana Transformation,' what are they?"[26]

Whereupon together they had a joyful banquet to end the day.

The anecdote as related in the Extensive Register of Great Tranquility and in Topical Poetry (Pen-shih shih) differs only in minor details. The T'ang Gleanings (T'ang che-yen) account differs radically from both of these and deserves separate translation for purposes of comparison:

The retired scholar Chang recalled a "Silkworm Thorn Branch[27] Poem" of his, saying: "'Where was the belt inlaid with mandarin ducks thrown?/ To whom was the gauze blouse decorated with peacocks given?'"

Po Chü-i called these lines "legal interrogations."[28]

Chang Hu got back at him, saying: "I'm guilty of the 'legal interrogations' charge and I don't deny it. But you, too, have your Maudgalyāyana sūtra. The words of your 'Song of Lasting Sorrow' [written in 806] go like this: 'Above he travelled to the end of the blue heavens, below he went to the Yellow Springs,/ But in neither of these boundless places did he find her.' Do you mean to say that this is not about Maudgalyāyana looking for his mother?"

We must first ask why T'ang Gleanings, which the Extensive Register of Great Tranquility declares itself to be citing, has Maudgalyāyana sūtra 目連經 and "Maudgalyāyana looking for his mother" instead of "Maudgalyāyana Transformation" 目連變 . A probable answer to this question can be arrived at by making an examination of some of the various editions of T'ang Gleanings available to us. The Hsüeh-chin t'ao-yüan [Seek the Source of the Ford of Learning] 學津討源 version[29] edited by Chang Hai-p'eng 張海鵬 (1755-1816) is the same as that of the modern edition which I have used. Both SPPY

and TSSCC also follow the Seek the Source version. It is most interesting to note, however, that the Ya-yü t'ang ts'ung-shu [Collectanea from the Hall of Elegant Rain] 雅雨堂叢書(1756) version[30] has "Maudgalyāyana Transformation" and "Maudgalyāyana looking for his mother" at the two crucial points mentioned above. The Hsiao-yüan ts'ung-shu [Whistling Garden Collectanea] 嘯園叢書 (1883) version[31] follows the Hall of Elegant Rain text. The explanation which comes to mind for why some editions retained "Maudgalyāyana Transformation" and others did not is this: faced with a word they did not understand, some editors simply exchanged it for one they did while others left the text intact. The difficulty for a Ch'ing period editor to comprehend the correct meaning of pien in this context would have been infinitely greater than is our own. We, at least, since 1907 have had palpable manuscripts to guide us in our attempt to recapture the lost significance of this mysterious word. The conclusion that pien (in the sense of a literary or artistic genre) was saturated with Buddhist connotations current in the T'ang but which were no longer operable in the Ch'ing (or even in the Ming or the Yüan and for the most of the Sung) is inescapable.

In spite of the textual differences involved, what does this anecdote tell us about the nature and history of transformation texts? First, it is significant that two highly educated poets would be so thoroughly familiar with the Maudgalyāyana transformation as to use it comfortably for the substance of a joke. We have, however, no definite way to discover whether their acquaintanceship with the Maudgalyāyana transformation was made through observance of oral performances or through reading of written texts. My own inclination is that they acquired knowledge of transformations primarily through attendance at actual performances. Whatever the case may be, it is certain that there were in the early ninth century traditions of transformation stories sufficiently solidified as to be quotable. Secondly, this incident occurred in Soochow in the year 825, indicating that transformations were well-established throughout much

of China before that time. The time-frame squares well with other available data regarding the period of currency of transformations. Thirdly, transformations were such common currency that they could be considered on the same level as "legal interrogations."

Wang Shih-chen 王世禎 (1634-1711), the early Ch'ing poetry critic, knew of the anecdote concerning Po Chü-i. Without comprehending exactly the meaning of "Maudgalyāyana Transformation," he was astute enough to realize that it was derogatory if applied to someone's poetry 固是謔語，然亦詩之病.[32]

Kuo Shih 郭湜 (T'ang), in his Unofficial Biography of Kao Li-shih,[33] offers a very interesting account which proves that transformations were performed even for the Emperor himself. The context of the account is determined by Kao Li-shih's efforts to relieve Hsüan-tsung's 玄宗 boredom after he returned — without his beloved "Honored Consort" Yang 楊貴妃 (719-756) — to Ch'ang-an from his disastrous flight to the Szechwan area. The time of this account is approximately the year 760.

> Everyday, the ex-Emperor and Kao would personally oversee the sweeping out of the courtyard, the cutting of the grass, and the trimming of the shrubs. Or there would be sūtra lectures, discussions of doctrine,[34] performances of transformations 轉變,[35] and storytelling 說話.[36] Although these were far from being proper literature, it was hoped that, in the end, they would cheer His Highness's feelings.

What is most striking about this account is the forthright recognition that the products of popular culture might very well be useful and appealing to members of the ranks of elite society. The rather early date (in terms of the verifiable development of transformation performances and transformation texts), as well as the fact that Kao Li-shih was a devout Buddhist, should not be overlooked in attempts

to interpret this passage.

In the Extensive Register of Great Tranquility,[37] there is recorded an extraordinarily graphic description of the drawing power of transformation performances. This account is extremely valuable for historians of Chinese folk culture because it not only gives an indication of the types of individuals who flocked to these performances but the sometimes nefarious motivation of those who sponsored them.

> ...When Yang Kuo-chung 楊國忠 (d. 756) was Military Governor of Chien-nan 劍南,[38] he summoned envoys to go the long distance to Lu-nan 瀘南.[39] Provisions were few and the road was dangerous; often none would return. His Chien-nan operatives each year would order Sung Yü 宋昱 and Wei Huan 韋儇, as imperial representatives, to compel the prefects and district magistrates to levy troops. The men knew they would surely die, so the prefects and district magistrates could not fulfill the commands. Therefore, they resorted to a stratagem whereby, under false pretenses, they would order monks to hold a vegetarian feast or perform[40] transformations along important roads. 詐令[41]僧設齋,或于要路轉變. They would bind those among the crowd who were without relatives or were poor and put them in a secret room. Then they would issue them coarsely made clothes and, having formed them into ranks wearing cangues, would quickly send them off to the campaigns.

This passage tells us several important things about transformations. First, it once again corroborates the Szechwan connection I have repeatedly stressed. Secondly, it shows that this form of entertainment was presented not in temples but on public thoroughfares. Thirdly, we learn that it was enormously popular; it was a type of performance that even the poorest people would flock to. Fourthly, we find that transformations were perceived as Buddhistic by the people.

Fifthly, the "monks" who may have performed them were of a peculiar breed. Sixthly, the attraction of transformations was well enough known to the authorities that they chose to exploit it to their own ends.

Hsüeh Chao-yün, in his Biographies of Illusionists,[42] has a story about one "Graduate Li" 李秀才. Li is chided by a monk who says, among other things, "How can you expect anything good of those who hanker after tavern banners and play around at transformation spots (wan pien-ch'ang 玩變場)?" I have not seen attested elsewhere the phrase wan pien-ch'ang and am uncertain of its exact meaning. But the fact that it occurs in a story dealing with illusionism opens up the possibility that it may point to the existence of localized centers where transformations were regularly performed during the T'ang. If this is what it actually means, it is significant that a monk has spoken ill of such places. Sūtra lectures, by contrast, were delivered in the "lecture courts" 講院 of temples and monks encouraged Buddhist laymen to go to them often.[43]

In his Miscellany of Rarities, Tuan Ch'eng-shih records an account of a strange happening that makes a connection between illusionism and a specific transformation tableau:

> During the Great Calendar reign period (766-779), there was a magician who came from the south and stopped at Bald Mountain Monastery. He was fond of wine and, before long, became a bit intoxicated.
>
> Because of a major vegetarian feast that was being held in the monastery, several thousand people had gathered. Suddenly, the magician said, "I have a trick that can take the place of the pleasure afforded from 'Pebble Toss.'" Whereupon he mixed up some colors in a vessel. He pranced about and rubbed his eyes. Slowly he muttered several dozen words of incantation. Then he sipped up the liquid and spat it out repeatedly on the wall, thus creating a "Transformation Tableau of Visiting Vimalakīrti in His Illness." 維摩問疾變相 The many colors stood out as though freshly painted.

> It was more than a half a day before the color gradually began to fade. By evening they had all disappeared except for a flower on Śāriputra's silken cap that had been decorated with chrysanthemums. After two days it was still there.[44]

It is noteworthy that the magician who creates this spectacular transformation of Vimalakīrti comes from outside of the monastery.

Another item of evidence for the broad circulation of transformations in China is that a line from the verse portion of the Maudgalyāyana transformation was quoted verbatim in the recorded sayings of a Zen master.[45]

The disputable religiosity of "monks" who were overly fond of transformations is plain from the following incident that probably happened c. 947:

> "Deaf Monk" Li
>
> There was a monk of Later Shu times (925-965) named Tz'u-yüan 辭遠 and surnamed Li 李 who was from the Monastery (ārāma) of the Three Sages in Kuang-tu District 廣都縣 [southeast of modern Hua-yang District 華陽縣 in Szechwan]. He had a slight amount of learning [or "was slightly literate" 薄有文學] but could memorize and recite a lot. His master, called Ssu-chien 思鑒 , was a stupid person. Tz'u-yüan often deprecated his teacher by saying, "What a pity that I am a disciple of this monk!" Whether sitting or walking, he was always mumbling the "Transformation on Madame Spirit of the Earth" 后土夫人變 . The master would try to stop him but that would only make him do it all the more. He was completely unsupportive of his master.
>
> One day while he was loudly performing [literally, "turning"] the transformation 轉變 , a hand came out of nowhere and cuffed him on the ear so that he became deaf. For more than twenty years, until the

"Incipient Treasure" reign period (968-976) of the present (Sung) dynasty, he stayed in the Well of Righteousness Monastery in Ch'eng-tu.[46]

About 150 years later, the still suspect text was no longer called a "transformation" but simply a "lyric":

The Disrespectfulness of the "Lyric on the Spirit of the Earth"

Shao Yen 邵衍, style Chung-ch'ang 仲昌, was a man of Chin-ling [i.e., Nanking]. He was sincere and fond of learning, never wearying of it his whole life long. On June 4, 1110 at the age of 82, he passed away without an illness. One day not long before his end, he looked at his nephew, Huang Tzu-wen 黃子文, and said: "Your old uncle will bid you farewell tomorrow. On a night in the past, I dreamed that a person in yellow clothing [i.e., a monk or a priest] summoned me to a government office. The attendants were stern. Leaning on the table as he sat, a man with cap and robe like that of a king said to me, 'The "Lyric on the Spirit of the Earth" transmitted in the world is too disrespectful. Why do you keep a copy of it?' Whereupon he ordered the person in yellow clothing to lead me past several city gates. We stopped at a palace and I turned my head to look at it. Its gold and jade hallways were captivating but they were silent; no human voices were heard there. In a moment, someone suddenly called out 'Shao Yen' from admidst the curtains. 'The Emperor orders that, for you to have a perfect form, you must extirpate the "Lyric on the Spirit of the Earth" which has been transmitted in the world. How will you accomplish that?' I responded by saying that those who transmit it should die. The one who called out to me replied, 'All right.' And so I assumed my duties that very day. Having received the order,

I went out the door. I stumbled and awoke. What I had dreamed was extremely clear. Now I want the members of my family and you, my nephew, to know that this lyric may no longer be transmitted. Remember it! Remember it!"

Tzu-wen did not really believe him. The next day before dawn, he went to see his uncle. "Nephew, just listen long enough to hear this ode of mine," Yen said to Tzu-wen. Thereupon he raised his voice and sang aloud:

"Although everything is over now,
What use to repeat it whenever you meet someone?
This morning I shake my sleeve with displeasure,
I have to catch the wheel of a bright moon."

He died as soon as he finished these words.

Tzu-wen is my niece's husband. I used to go on outings with Yen.[47]

A widespread cult, complete with images and shrines, developed around the figure of "Madame Spirit of the Earth." This in itself was sufficient to evoke the wrath of the Confucian watchdogs of culture. Even worse was the blasphemous nature of the central cult figure. In the first place, she represented a sort of transvestitism of a respectable deity. Furthermore, she had the audacity to "seduce" a human being named Wei An-tao 韋安道. When he took her home as his wife, Wei's parents were displeased. They hired two monks and a Taoist priest to exorcise her but she would not bow to them. Finally, the father ordered An-tao to get rid of her. She obliged him by leaving and taking An-tao with her to the realm of spirits.

It is clear from all of this that Madame Spirit of the Earth was considered by the guardians of propriety to be an unwelcome aberration. Other, more brutally male chauvinist, types thought that she could be used to attack their nemesis, Empress Wu.

> Upon first reading the Tale of Madame Spirit of the Earth 后土夫人傳 written by people of the T'ang,[48] I detested its slanderous disrespectfulness. When I saw Ch'en Shih-tao's 陳師道 (1053-1101) remarks in his Poetry Talks to the effect that "...the people of the T'ang recorded the story of [Madame] Spirit of the Earth in order to ridicule Empress Wu," I said that Empress Wu was not worth ridiculing. And to use the Spirit of the Earth for this purpose was simply being too blasphemous. Later incorrigibles proceeded to put the story to music [referring to the "Lyric on the Spirit of the Earth"] with the result that ignoramuses took it to be true.[49]

Since neither the "Transformation on Madame Spirit of the Earth" nor the "Lyric on the Spirit of the Earth" has survived (small wonder!), it is impossible to determine what the relationship between the two of them was or how they compared to the classical Tale of Madame Spirit of the Earth. For stylistic reasons, the latter may have been somewhat less objectionable than the other two forms of the story, which would help to account for its preservation in the face of their loss. In any case, if these remarks of three Sung scholars are an indication of the moral outrage and cultural indignation surrounding the subject of a single mid-tenth-century transformation, it is not surprising that, by the eleventh century — when neo-Confucian rectitude was coming into full swing —, the genre was well-nigh extinct.

A final literary reference to transformations is to be found under the year 694 of the Unified Chronology of the Buddhist Patriarchate 佛祖統記, ch. 39,[50] where there occurs a note which includes a most important citation from the Orthodox Line of Śākyamuni's School 釋門正統.[51] The latter text was initially published in the

first quarter of the thirteenth century by Wu K'o-chi 吳克己 and completed in 1237 or soon thereafter by a monk named Tsung-chien 宗鑑 of Liang-chu 良渚. The note in question was prompted by the mention of the arrival at Wu Tse-t'ien's 武則天 (624-705) court of a Persian named P'iuət-tâ-d'ân (?) 拂多誕 who brought with him the apocryphal (read "Manichean") sūtra called Scripture of the Two Principles 二宗經. The scripture was obviously uncanonical to the editor of the Unified Chronology, Chih-p'an 志磐, who was a T'ien-t'ai monk. Tsung-chien, the author of the note under discussion, here and elsewhere[52] displays an acute awareness of what belongs within Buddhism and what not. The note is rather difficult to understand[53] in all its details but the general import should be comprehensible from the following crude translation:

> [The monk from] Liang-chu said: "In accordance with the laws of our dynasty, 'all those who propagate and practice the Scripture of the Two Principles and other baseless scriptures not included in the Tripiṭaka in order to confuse the people shall be convicted of heresy.' That which is called the Two Principles [is the scripture of Manichaeism, according to which] men and women need not marry, one does not speak during mutual undertakings, one does not take medicine when ill, the dead should be buried naked, etc. By 'baseless scriptures' is meant Buddha, Buddha, Master Overflowing with Love; [The Scripture of] Crying and Tears Spoken by the Buddha; Scripture of the Appearance of the Greater and Lesser Kings of Light[54] in the World; Transformation Text on the Opening of the Origin and the Embracement of the Earth[55] 開元括地變文; Discussion on Equivalence with Heaven; Canto on the Fifth Envoy [of Light];[56] and the like....

The note continues with an exposition of the confusing

similarities in both doctrine and practice which debased Manichaeism holds with Buddhism. On the basis of this note, we may observe that, around the year 1237, transformation texts (such as they were known at that time) were identified as heretically (to the Buddhists) Manichaean. What is worse, this was Buddhicized Manichaeism and, hence, the distinction between it and Buddhism was insufficiently marked for the comfort of purists such as Tsung-chien. It also was a source of trouble for the Buddhists since the lack of a clear-cut distinction between the two religions caused prescriptions and persecutions of Manichaeism to spill over into the Buddhist camp. It was, therefore, in the vital self-interest of Buddhists to delineate as sharply as possible the dividing line between themselves and Manichaeans.[57] Until the twentieth century when transformation texts were rediscovered and written about, this is the last known textual reference to pien-wen.

It is, however, curious that the term pien-wen appears miraculously to have survived in the realm of oral entertainment even into the beginning of the twentieth century. In old Peking, there was an entertainment center called the Nan-fang chi-yüan 南方妓院 that supposedly featured performers from the southern part of China. Judging from the center's name (it means "Southern Brothel"), the social status of the performers was low and it is probable that — like some of the Kumano bikuni[58] — they performed other services than singing. What is most interesting about their performance of "treasure scrolls" (pao-chüan 寶卷) is that it was called "proclaiming scrolls" (hsüan chüan 宣卷) in the south and "singing transformation texts" (ch'ang pien-wen 唱變文) in the north.[59] How this latter name survived from the Five Dynasties to the twentieth century remains a mystery to me since it is mentioned — so far as I know — only once[60] in a printed text during the interim. This demonstrates that written records are inadequate in their description of popular culture for premodern times. It is also significant that early twentieth-century "treasure scrolls," whose Ming and Ch'ing origins

we know to have been popular Buddhist in nature, were sometimes situated in the demimonde. This was true even when they were referred to in the north as "sūtras of ['monks' who sponsor] vegetarian feasts" (ying-fu [-seng] ching 應赴[僧]經).

The unfortunate paucity of references to transformation texts in pre-modern sources has led occasionally, perhaps out of wishful thinking, to scholars finding them where they do not actually exist. An example of such a spurious reference is Yang Yin-shen's quotation[61] of the Ming writer Tsang Mou-hsün's 臧懋循 (Advanced Scholar 1580) preface (c. 1619) to his edition of the late Yüan author Yang Wei-chen's 楊維楨 (1296-1370) Records of Transcendant Wandering and Dream Wandering (Hsien-yu meng-yu erh lu 仙遊夢遊二錄). The quotation is taken out of context so as to make it appear that Tsang is identifying "strum lyrics" (t'an-tz'u 彈詞) as a type of pien-wen: "As for strum-lyricists, they are mostly blind men who beat the rhythm with a small drum as they recite and sing 說唱 at the Nine Crossroads and the Three Markets. There are also women with stringed instruments. It is likely that this is the last [representative] of pien." But Tsang was discussing a series of linked changes in literary form. Pien ought here to be interpreted as "change" not "transformation" in the sense of a genre. Thus Tsang meant to say that strum lyrics were the "most recent" or "latest" development in a long line of evolution passing through the odes (feng 風 and ya 雅) to the ballads (yüeh-fu 樂府), lyrics (tz'u 詞), and cantos (ch'ü 曲). The statement[62] has no bearing on the history of transformatinn texts.

Several scholars[63] believe they have discovered in the "Bibliographical Monograph" of the Sui History 隋書經籍志[64] references to pien pictures from the Liang period (502-556). Closer examination of the titles mentioned, however, will show that the word pien in them is unrelated either to Buddhism or to pictorial representation and, hence has no relationship to the subject of our inquiry.

Under the title Register of Mounted Lances, one scroll 馬槊譜一卷, there is a note which reads, "In the Liang, there was The Major (?) Styles of Horse-Riding, one scroll; 'Picture(s?) of Horse-Riding Variations,' one scroll." 梁有騎馬都格一卷；騎馬變圖一卷. The pien here refers to the diverse positions in which the lance should be carried or employed while on horseback. Under the title Methods of Imperial Gambling, one scroll 皇博法一卷, there is a note which reads, "In the Liang, there was... a Pitch-Pot[65] Classic, four scrolls; 'Pitch-Pot Variations,' one scroll, compiled by the Honorary Grand Imperial Banqueting Court Officer of the Left under the Liang, Yü T'an."[66] 梁有 ... 投壺經四卷；投壺變一卷，晉左光祿大夫虞潭撰. Here pien refers to the various ways in which the sticks can land in the pot or pass through its handles. Such series of pictures can be seen in many old illustrated books. Also cited is a "Chart of the Variations of the Nine Mansions," one scroll 九宮變圖一卷. Note, first, that this item is entered under the section of works relating to the "Five Phases School (Wu-hsing chia 五行家). The pien here has astronomical and divinatory significance and refers to the different possible relationships among certain important stars and the trigrams of the Book of Change. The expression "Nine Mansions" may also have numerological or musical significance. In any case, it is obvious from my translations that pien in these old titles should not be rendered in the Buddhistic sense of "transformational (representation)." It signifies, rather, what one would normally expect it to mean as a verbal noun during the Six Dynasties, viz., "variations." Hence these titles may not be used as evidence for the existence of pien-wen or pien-hsiang during the Liang period.

Kuan Te-tung accepts[67] these titles as referring to pien-hsiang, but he goes one step beyond and suggests that pien-t'u 變圖 is close phonologically to man-t'u 曼荼(曼陀羅) (mandala). While it may be possible to accept the phonological argument by itself, Kuan's identification is still unacceptable

for several reasons. In the first place, I have already shown that pien in these titles means "variation," etc. Secondly, it is impossible to conceive of pictures illustrating horse-riding, gambling, and so on as being mandalas. Thirdly, as I have shown elsewhere in this study,[68] Kuan cannot have it both ways at the same time, i.e., both phonological and semantic equivalence. Where Chinese is borrowing from Sanskrit, transliteration and translation occur simultaenously only in extremely rare circumstances, if ever.

Another spurious reference (to early pien-hsiang) is that cited[69] by Kuan Te-tung from the biography of Hui-yüan 慧遠 in the Liang Biographies of Eminent Monks 高僧傳 compiled by Hui-chiao 慧皎 (497-554). The biography mentions[70] hsi-lü tsa pien hsiang 細縷雜變象 from Kucha presented by the Ch'in ruler, Yao Hsing 姚興 (394-416), as a gift. Kuan concludes from this that already by the Eastern Chin, pien-hsiang was prominent in certain countries of the Western Regions. But this conclusion is based on an erroneous understanding of the characters which actually mean "various (tsa) unusual (pien) shapes (hsiang) [made of] fine thread (hsi-lü)." Lü, however, should probably be emended to lou 鏤, hence "inlaid stone."[71]

A final example of a spurious contemporaneous reference to pien-wen was made by Ch'iu Chen-ching when he referred[72] to a "Flood pien" 大水變 by Huang-fu Sung 皇甫松 supposedly cited in ch. 10 of T'ang Gleanings 唐摭言. None of the half-dozen editions of the work which I have checked, however, have this title. The piece by Huang-fu Sung was, rather, a "Critique of [the Handling of] the Flood" 大水辨.

Chapter Seven Birth, (Apparent) Death, and Survival

Considering the number of studies of individual Tun-huang transformation texts that have been carried out over the past fifty and more years, it would be impossible to discuss adequately in a work of this nature the dates of each manuscript.[1] In some important cases I have, however, mentioned various dates elsewhere in this book and in Tun-huang Popular Narratives. My purpose here is primarily to deal with the period of the development of the genre as a whole. Basically, there are two questions that need to be answered. Why did transformation texts come into being during the T'ang dynasty? And why did they die out in the Sung dynasty?

One very good reason why transformations may have become popular during the T'ang period is that it was the very time when foreign cultural influence had reached a peak in China: "The vogue for foreign clothes, foreign food, and foreign music was especially prevalent in the eighth century, but no part of the T'ang era was free from it."[2] And, of foreign influences in the T'ang period, by far the most pervasive was Buddhism. As Wright and Twitchett have written, "It is obvious to the most casually interested that during the T'ang dynasty Buddhism suffused T'ang life, penetrated every segment of Chinese society to a degree that it had not done before and was never to do again."[3]

Paul Demiéville has already hinted, in a brief but perceptive note, that Buddhism was responsible for the rise of Chinese vernacular literature in a very general way:

> There is scarcely any doubt that the source of this remarkable development is to be sought in Buddhism, which had an overwhelming influence during the T'ang dynasty and whose egalitarian doctrine and propaganda were directed to the people at large, without distinction of class and culture.[4]

Buddhism in India had served to diminish the ill effects of

the caste system. In China, too, it acted as a social leveller. Anyone who believed could praise the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas through whatever means were available to him — road-building, printing of charms, donation of art-work, copying of sūtras, recitation of prayers, and so on. All interested souls were welcomed and encouraged to attend religious lectures which were skillfully aimed at the level of understanding of widely varying audiences. Buddhist authorities and lay organizations were involved in various educational enterprises directed towards the common people. Theoretically, everyone was equal within the sangha. And anyone could enter the Western Paradise through profession of faith. People from all walks of life and all social classes could leave their families 出家 to become monks and nuns. What is more, they might remain celibate and hence fail to produce offspring — the worst possible sin for a filial son or daughter. For these reasons — and many others — Buddhism was damned by the establishment as being un-Chinese and destructive to the status in quo of the social fabric. But, by the middle of the T'ang period the damage (or the benefit) had been irreparably done: the social effect of the penetration of Buddhist ideals and institutions into all reaches of Chinese life was ineradicable. One of the results of that penetration was the creation of a climate favorable to the development of popular literature. For its adherents, there were now viable and religiously legitimized literary alternatives to the classical modes of history, poetry, philosophy, and belles lettres. With the passage of time, the originally Buddhist nature of these profound social changes would be erased. Of course, there were many other social, political, and economic factors involved in the explosive spread of popular culture during the T'ang. I stress here the importance of Buddhism in this expansion of the popular realm because it is so often totally ignored.

One of the most profound changes wrought upon literature in China by Buddhism was the subtle devaluation of the written word vis-à-vis the spoken. In a discussion of the absence of epic poetry and the late occurrence of drama in

China, Achilles Fang has emphasized[5] the pre-eminence of the written word over the spoken. Poetry that deserved the name was always written and not oral. Without being adequately informed of the actual historical development of Chinese literature, Max Weber offered some extremely penetrating remarks on the relationship between the written and the spoken word in China:

> The stock of written symbols remained far richer than the stock of monosyllabic words, which was inevitably quite delimited. Hence, all phantasy and ardor fled from the poor and formalistic intellectualism of the spoken word and into the quiet beauty of the written symbols. The usual poetic speech was held fundamentally subordinate to the script. Not speaking but writing and reading were valued artistically and considered as worthy of a gentlemen, for they were receptive of the artful products of script. Speech remained truly an affair of the plebs. This contrasts sharply with Hellenism, to which conversation meant everything and a translation into the style of the dialogue was the adequate form of all experience and contemplation. In China the very finest blossoms of literary culture lingered, so to speak, deaf and mute in their silken splendor. They were valued far higher than was the art of drama, which, characteristically, flowered during the period of the Mongols.[6]

The contrast with Hellenism is similar to that with the Indian tradition where oral discourse "meant everything." It was Buddhism which injected this radically new approach to literature in Chinese society.

There is evidence in the Collected Major Edicts of the T'ang[7] that the government tried to stop the activities of folk religious storytellers at about the same time they first became prominent. An edict of the fourth month of

the year 731 forbids "monks and nuns" from going out in the villages to tell stories and engage in other unseemly activities. "Except for lecturing on the vinaya (discipline), all else is forbidden to monks and nuns." It is possible that the government may have been ill-informed about who was doing the storytelling in the countryside. For, as we have seen,[8] it is very likely that those who were engaged in storytelling in the villages were not really formally ordained monks and nuns at all. It seems more probable that the edict was worded as it is for legalistic purposes (viz., to put the folk religious storytellers and popular priests completely beyond the pale of legitimate activity).

In an edict of the seventh month in the year 714, the emperor declares that he has heard Buddhism has been corrupted because, among other things, "in the wards and alleys, [the 'monks'] have been opening 'layouts' and writing [uncanonical] scriptures." The expression "opening 'layouts'" (k'ai p'u 開鋪) is extremely suggestive[9] but its precise meaning here is uncertain. In the next recorded edict, dated the eleventh month of 715, the emperor complains that these undisciplined "monks" create other, minor scriptures, falsely ascribing them to the Buddha himself. In all of these edicts, the emperor shows himself to be genuinely worried about the harmful effects of these activities. On a deeper level, what the emperor's concern actually reveals is the inability of the government to control the massive spread of folk and popular Buddhism among the people.

The impact of Buddhist narrative on the shape of Chinese popular literature was revolutionary and long-lasting. In order to assess this impact accurately, it is necessary to sketch briefly the pre-Buddhist characteristics of Chinese narrative. It cannot be denied that China, from a very early time, possessed written historical narrative. The Chronicle of Tso (Tso-chuan) and the Records of the Grand Historian (Shih-chi) are illustrious examples of the glorious Chinese tradition in that sphere. But whether or not China possessed a tradition of fictional narrative before the introduction of Buddhism is a moot point. Since it

seems, from our own experience, that fictionalizing is a natural human impulse, there should be no reason to believe that the Chinese were unsusceptible to it. And yet, on the other hand, there was a strong current of thought traceable to at least the Chou period which worked to counter any incipient growth of fiction. This is what I call the historicization of narrative in China. Regardless of their origins, there was a tendency for established narrative accounts to become literalized. The characters were made into actual historical personages and were provided with plausible biographies. In Chinese mythology, this tendency manifested itself as reverse euhemerization, such that the gods and their wonderful stories were swiftly written down as proper historical figures and events. Of course, all this was going on under the auspices of officialdom and at elite levels of culture. Unfortunately, it was these circles who determined the picture of Chinese society before the T'ang period upon which we must rely almost exclusively.

The existence of such works as the Spring and Autumn Annals of Wu and Yüeh 吳越春秋 and Lost Book of Yüeh 越絕書 [10] indicate that, with the Han dynasty, the historicizing tendency gradually came to loose its iron grip on narrative. The embellishment and shaping of history for literary purposes shows that an opposite urge was slowly becoming recognizable and acted upon. Before long, it was possible for such a work as "Southeast-ward Flies the Peacock" 孔雀東南飛 to appear. Although this is a ballad, it is highly unusual at such an early date[11] in China as an example of extended narrative with a literary rather than a historical intent.

B.L. Riftin, in his Istoricheskaya epopeye fol'klornaya traditsiya v Kitae, showed that anecdotes relating to the Three Kingdoms were still in circulation as isolated stories during the time of Kan Pao 干寶 (fourth century) and Liu I-ch'ing 劉義慶 (403-444). It was during the T'ang, however, that they began to form connected cycles, a phenomenon which Riftin associates, correctly in my opinion, with the simultaneous rise of pien-wen. Průšek,

however, disagrees:

> I think it would be more correct to see in it a consequence of the rise at that time of a class of professional storytellers who required artistically worked up narratives of relatively greater length. And so they had to resort to book inspiration with which they could eventually supplement elements taken over from the oral tradition.[12]

But Průšek's explanation is unsatisfying because one still wishes to know how to account for the rise of the professional storyteller in the T'ang. The superiority of Riftin's view on this problem is that it directly points to the factor which accounts best both for the appearance of connected narratives and for the rise of professional storytellers. That is the large scale activity of overt Buddhist evangelism from the late Six Dynasties period on. In comparison with what they encountered in China, the Buddhist preachers (both lay and clerical) from India brought with them extremely advanced and elaborate narrative techniques. These sophisticated techniques exerted themselves first in the religious sphere but gradually a process of secularization set in whereby Buddho-Indian narrative traditions were transfered to the whole of the popular literary realm of China. This elaboration and extension of the Chinese narrative potential occurred first orally then, from about the middle of the eighth century on, it began to manifest itself in written form as well. Once Buddhist narrative techniques had taken deep root in Chinese soil, it was natural that a hybrid tradition would emerge. Viewed thus, there is nothing strange or mysterious about the rather sudden appearance of extended fictional narrative in the T'ang and its flowering in the Sung and Yüan. Of course, Chinese society was also undergoing profound change during the period in question and this, too, must have contributed substantially to the relaxation of the inhibiting effect upon the growth of fiction which strict

Confucian values had once imposed. The distaste and distrust of nonhistorical narrative modes so vigorously advanced by strict Confucianists slowly came to be ignored by certain newly solidified social classes. Although I am not competent to discuss the role of Buddhism in the rearrangement of social groupings and forces during this period, it seems not implausible that the effect of the massive deployment of Buddhist thought and organization throughout Chinese society, particularly among the lower levels, must have been enormous. Hence it is conceivable that the narrative revolution which occurred during the T'ang period was — in large measure — Buddhist inspired, both sociologically and literally.

But why, then, if Buddhist narrative was so important during the T'ang, did it seem to die out in the Sung? In his History of Chinese Popular Literature, Cheng Chen-to makes the statement[13] that pien-wen were prohibited by government order during the reign of Chen-tsung 眞宗 (998-1022) of the Sung dynasty. This has been accepted as virtual dogma by the majority of later scholars. But Cheng gave no proof for his assertion nor has anyone else. Lacking adequate documentation, I have tried myself to substantiate Cheng's statement but have been unsuccesful in doing so.[14] It appears that, rather than any specific proscriptions against pien-wen, the clear recognition of its Buddhist origins and associations caused it to suffer a setback in the general suppressions of Buddhism which occurred in the years 845 and 972. But more important still in the nominal demise of pien-wen, was the gradual Sinification of prosimetric storytelling with or without pictures. The evidence is abundant that, while the name pien-wen nearly disappeared from China after the Sung, the form flourished spectacularly. Indeed, it may well be said that the disuse of the clearly Buddhist designation pien in favor of such Chinese-sounding expressions as p'ing-hua, chiang-shih, chu-kung-tiao, and so forth, is an index of its thorough domestication.

The names pien, pien-wen, and pien-hsiang had such a decidedly Buddhist ring about them that the very use of

these terms would have been unwise in a time of anti-Buddhist government activity such as the persecution of 845 and frowned upon in an introverted, proto-nationalistic climate such as existed during much of the Sung period. The Buddhist connotations of "transformations" were simply too evident to be ignored. For anyone who has read extensively in Chinese Buddhist literature — both canonical and popular — it is impossible to escape this conclusion: pien as a literary and artistic phenomenon is Buddhist. If pien as a literary genre were being used in its strictly normal sense(s) as a Chinese word (i.e., without any Buddhist overtones), it does not seem possible that the name would have disappeared so abruptly at the beginning of the Sung dynasty. The Sung was a period of introspective assessment and assimilation. Much of the best of Buddhist doctrine was absorbed into neo-Confucianism. Likewise, forms of storytelling and lecturing that were overtly Buddhist during the T'ang period gradually lost their (foreign) religious flavor during the course of the Sung. The decisive effect of these developments was heightened by the fact that the route through which much popular Buddhist inspiration and nourishment flowed into China was blocked by the Muslims and the Tanguts. The internationalism of the T'ang was no more.

We read in the decree in which the Buddhist proscription of 845 was announced:

> We therefore ordain the destruction of 4600 temples, the secularization of 260,500 monks and nuns who henceforth shall pay the semi-annual taxes, the destruction of some 40,000 shrines, the confiscation of millions of acres of arable land, the manumission of 150,00 slaves, both male and female, who shall henceforth pay the semi-annual taxes. The monks and nuns shall be under the control of the bureau for foreign affairs in order to make it obvious that this is a foreign religion. As to the Nestorians and Zoroastrians, they shall be compelled to return

> to secular life lest they contaminate any longer the customs of China.[15]

As Goodrich rightly observes, "Buddhism by now was Chinese and could not perish...."[16] But there is no doubt that the changing political and intellectual climate had a profound effect on the ability and willingness of the Chinese people to tolerate markedly foreign cultural entities. In 635, the court had given Nestorian Christianity its blessing:

> The meaning of the teaching has been carefully examined: it is mysterious, wonderful, calm; it fixes the essentials of life and perfection; it is the salvation of living beings; it is the wealth of man. It is right that it should spread through the empire. Therefore let the local officials build a monastery in the I-ning quarter with twenty-one regular monks.[17]

But, by the end of 845, Nestorianism was virtually extinct in China. It is no coincidence that, given such a climate, the foreign-sounding name pien-wen all but disappeared from the Chinese language.

An equally important explanatory cause of the demise of pien-wen in China is the decline of the source of Buddhist inspiration in Central Asia and, ultimately, in India itself. We know that, with the coming of the Turks to Kāshgar sometime before 1000 I.E. and to Khotan in 1006,

the Buddho-Indianized culture of Central Asia rapidly withered away. And, already in the eleventh century, Mahmud of Ghazni had begun the Muslim raids on India itself. Hence the apparent disappearance of the overtly Buddhist storytelling form known as pien in China is part of a general pattern of the vicissitudes of Buddhism as a whole. Just as there grew up uniquely Chinese schools of Buddhism such as Pure Land, Zen, and T'ien-t'ai through the process

of Sinicization, so there arose storytelling forms related to pien but better suited to the Chinese environment and taste. Eventually pien would seem to disappear altogether though we now know that it lived on in numerous Sinicized forms of popular entertainment.[18] And, while Buddhism as a whole manifestly did not die out in China, a good deal of its most important philosophical tenets were tacitly adopted by neo-Confucian thinkers and are now barely recognizable as Buddhist per se. Hence, though the name "transformation," in the sense of "storytelling with pictures," seems to have been eclipsed from the written Chinese vocabulary sometime during the Northern Sung, there is concrete proof[19] that the form itself survived into the Yüan, the Ming, and even the Ch'ing.

Demiéville believed[20] that, during the eleventh and twelth centuries, pien-wen went out from the monasteries and into the public places. All of the information which I have gathered indicates that transformations were being told outside of the monasteries — by laymen entertainers and quasi monks — from their very beginnings in China. What did take place during the eleventh and twelth centuries, rather, was the increased secularization and sinicization of this Buddhistic form of storytelling. It seems, indeed, to have been secularized and sinicized to such a degree that, by the thirteenth century, storytelling with pictures was no longer known as essentially Buddhistic, its religiously charged name (pien) having been dropped abruptly in the second half of the tenth century.[21]

There is a crucial passage in T'ao Tsung-i's Records Made while Resting from Plowing which, by the very fact of its misleadingness, allows us to gain some insight into the level of knowledge during the Yüan period regarding various types of orally performed literature in the preceding few dynasties:

> In the T'ang, there were "transmissions of the exotic," i.e., classical tales (ch'uan-ch'i 傳奇), in the Sung "dramatic cantos" (hsi-

> ch'u 戲曲), "sung jests" (ch'ang-hui 唱諢), and "lyric tales" (tz'u-shuo 詞說). In the Chin, there were "court texts" (yüan-pen 院本), "variety plays" (tsa-chü 雜劇), and "medleys" (chu-kung-tiao 諸宮調). "Court texts" and "variety plays" are actually one and the same.[22]

There can be little doubt that T'ao regarded ch'uan-ch'i as a type of oral performance. And yet all that we know of ch'uan-ch'i in the T'ang tells us that this is simply untrue.[23] Hu Ying-lin was certainly justified when he accused T'ao Tsung-i of misusing the term in the passage under discussion.[24] The later Ming usage of the term to refer to a type of drama bears no immediate relevance to the question we are confronting here which is, basically, one of asking how a supposedly intelligent critic of the Yüan could so abuse such an important literary designation from the T'ang? One possible explanation which might be suggested is that T'ao actually was referring to transformations but did not know the correct name for them. For reasons which I have outlined earlier in this chapter, after the Five Dynasties period, the term pien-wen seems largely to have dropped out of circulation except for a unique reference c.1237 to it as being a heretical Manichaen phenomenon. The other genres referred to by T'ao are unmistakably in the line of descent from pien-wen.[25] T'ao knew well that these genres found their ancestral origins in the T'ang and he also knew well that ch'uan-ch'i was a type of story current in the T'ang. In order to give his exposition a (false) sense of completness, I submit that it is not improbable that T'ao might have succumbed to the temptation to fudge his history just a bit. That T'ao's misuse of the term ch'uan-ch'i was no accident can be demonstrated by examination of another passage in Records Made while Resting from Plowing in which the same curious assertion is repeated:

> When the "tare-gathering officials" (pai-kuan 稗官) [of the Han who collected gossip and anecdotes (hsiao-shuo 小說) on the streets] died out, then the "transmissions of the exotic" (ch'uan-ch'i 傳奇) arose. The "transmissions of the exotic" having arisen, they were succeeded by "dramatic cantos" (hsi-ch'ü 戲曲). During the Chin period and the beginning of the [Yüan] dynasty, ballads (yüeh-fu 樂府) were like the current of Sung lyrics (Sung-tz'u 宋詞), and "transmissions of the exotic" were like the transformation of Sung dramatic cantos. As transmitted in the world, they were called "variety plays" (tsa-chü 雜劇).[26]

On the basis of this confused and sketchy passage, T'ao's competence as a historian of narrative literature deserves to be questioned. Still, the possibility that by ch'uan-ch'i he meant pien-wen (whose name he most probably would not have known) persists.

Although transformation (pien) performances proper seem to have died out during the Sung period, storytelling with pictures survived under other names. This is borne out by the writings of Ma Huan, a Chinese Moslem who was secretary of the renowned Ming dynasty admiral, Cheng Ho 鄭和 , and who travelled with him to Southeast Asia. Among his reports for the year 1416 is the following passage about Java:

> They have a class of men who make drawings on paper of such things as men, birds, beasts, eagles, or insects; [these drawings] resemble scroll-pictures; for the supports of the picture they use two wooden sticks, three ch'ih [feet] in height, which are level with the paper at one end only; sitting cross-legged on

> the ground, the man takes the picture and sets it up on the ground; each time he unrolls and exposes a section of the picture he thrusts it forward towards his audience, and, speaking with a loud voice in the foreign language, he explains the derivation of this section; [and] the crowd wits round and listens to him, sometimes laughing, sometimes crying, exactly as if the narrator were reciting one of our popular romances.[27]

On the basis of these observations, Schlegel induces that Indonesian wayang bèbèr (storytelling with pictures) had a greater antiquity than wayang purwa (shadow puppets).[28] "If the Wāyang purwa (or scenic shades) were played in Java in A.D. 1416, Ma Hoan, the most exact chinese ethnographer of Java, would not have failed to notice it. But he only speaks of the Wāyang bèbèr, a long picture between two wooden cylinders, and which is unrolled (ambèbèr)[29] as the dalang, or representator, goes on with his explanation."[30] Schlegel suggests that this passage logically implies that there must have been a common Indian source for the Chinese and Indonesian traditions of storytelling with pictures. In slightly different form, this passage may also be found in Kung Chen's (fl. 1430-1434) A Record of Foreign Nations across the Western Ocean, under the heading "Kingdom of Java" 爪哇國.[31] Here and in Ma Huan's original account, it is absolutely clear that wayang bèbèr has been compared by the Chinese observers to the popular genre known as "expository tale" (p'ing-hua 平話). This comparison is of the utmost significance and cannot be stressed too strongly. For it proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that Yüan and Ming expository tales (p'ing-hua) were originally a type of picture storytelling, a fact which modern scholarship has heretofore failed to realize. It also demonstrates that printed expository tales derived from such illustrated oral narratives. In addition, we gain from this passage positive evidence of the existence

and nature of wayang bèbèr in the early part of the fifteenth century. Furthermore, because of our knowledge of the form of transformation picture scrolls, it is possible to say with assurance on the basis of this passage that expository tales (p'ing-hua) were the direct descendants in the Yüan period of transformation storytelling. We can even go so far as to say simply that p'ing-hua was pien with a Sinicized name.

There exists a series of "five fully illustrated expository tales"[32] for which we have precise information concerning date and provenance. On the title page of the last of these five, called "New Fully Illustrated Expository Tale on the Story of the Three Kingdoms" 新全相三國志平話, the time of publication is given as falling between the years 1321-1323. And four of the five tales are identified as having been published by Mr. Yü of Chien-an 建安虞氏 in Fukien. The meaning of hsiang in ch'üan-hsiang 全相 ("fully illustrated"), a term which is frequently applied not only to expository tales but also to editions of other types of fiction and drama from the Yüan on, is directly related to its earlier occurrence in pien-hsiang ("transformation illustration" or, as I have rendered it consistently, "transformation tableau").

The existence of a "Serially Illustrated Expository Tale on the Spring and Autumn Annals of Wu and Yüeh" 吳越春秋連像平話[33] leads one to imagine that there must have been a tradition of telling this long story with pictures. The Tun-huang story of Wu Tzu-hsü might then be considered as a development from that tradition in which the illustrations were dropped and the "Serially Illustrated Expository Tale on the Spring and Autumn Annals of Wu and Yüeh" as one in which they were retained.

There are many manuscripts in India that are illustrated and arranged in a format similar to p'ing-hua. I mention here only the Vasanta Vilasa in the Freer Gallery, executed in 1451. This text consists of 84 painted panels on a cloth scroll in a vertical format. The alternating portions of text appear to have been added after the paintings were

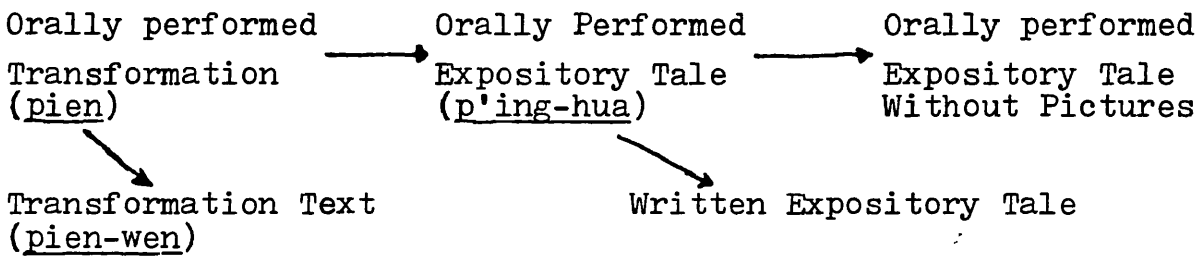
completed in the spaces that were left for them. The size and arrangement indicate that the Vasanta Vilasa was intended for private reading.[34]

With printed p'ing-hua, the text appears to be primary and the pictures illustrative of it.[35] But in terms of the evolution of this genre of popular literature, the evidence is compelling that the emphasis was originally on the pictures and that the "texts" were oral explanations of them.

Yü Yüeh (1821-1906), in his A Record of Whiling Away the Summer to Its Very End,[36] has a section entitled "Picture Explanations that Have the Form of Expository Tales" 圖說如平話體例. From this section, we can verify somewhat the similarity between expository tales and transformations. There still existed in Yü's time engraved copies of Yang Tung-ming's 楊東明 (1548-1624) "Pictures of the Starving People of Honan" 河南饑民圖. Yang had originally presented the pictures to the Emperor during the Wan-li years (1573-1619). There were altogether fourteen pictures, the first thirteen each had an attached explanation 各繫以說. The last picture was of the artist himself presenting a petition and had this label: "The person who is gazing expectantly toward the Emperor and kowtowing is [titles omitted]...Yang Tung-ming." 這望闕叩頭的就是... 楊東明. It is highly significant, as Yü himself points out, that the explanations were all written in the colloquial language 諸說皆俚俗之語. Yü further mentions a Classified Collection of Teachings for the Family 教家類纂 by one Hsüeh Meng-li 薛夢李, also of the Ming period, which had pictures with explanations such as "This person standing inside the door is so-and-so of such-and-such a dynasty, etc." 這一箇門內站的人是某朝某人，云云. Here, too, the labels were written in the colloquial language. Yü suspects 疑 that this is the form of the expository tales which were so popular during the Ming period.

It is essential that more intensive research be carried out on the expository tale to determine whether any

other Chinese sources allude to the fact that it was originally a type of picture storytelling. That is, the early expository tale now needs to be investigated as an oral performing art rather than as the genre of written popular literature into which it later developed. A type of expository tale did, of course, survive as an oral performing art into the twentieth century but does not employ illustrations. Yet, even with the presently available evidence, we may say that early expository tales had a definite, organic relationship to transformations. Thus



That the tradition of storytelling with pictures survived in China after the nominal demise of transformations and transformation texts is evident from other sources as well. The fifty-sixth chapter of the Complete Story Telling of Yüeh Fei (Shuo Yüeh ch'üan chuan 說岳全傳) begins with an account of the appearance on the battlefield of a new and formidable Chin 金 general named Ts'ao Ning 曹寧 and describes how the Sung warriors are unable to defeat him. Wang Tso 王佐 (b. 1126), who had previously infiltrated the Chin army through the ruse of cutting off one of his arms and presenting it to the enemy Commander-in-Chief, Wu-chu 兀术 (d. 1148),[37] as a sign of his allegiance and who is now posing as a storyteller called "Wretched One" 苦人兒, learns of this unfortunate (for the Sung) development.[38]

> But let us tell how Wang Tso, who was startled when he heard of this matter in the Chin encampment, came before Lu Wen-lung's 陸文龍 camp. He went into the tent and saw Wen-

lung, who asked him, "Wretched One, which stories are you going to tell again today?"

"Today I have an extremely good story," replied Wang Tso. "But you must have all of these contemptible barbarians go out so that Your Honor may listen to it alone."

Wen-lung ordered all of his attendants to go out. When Wang Tso saw that all of the contemptible barbarians had indeed gone out, he took out a picture (一副畫圖) and presented it to Wen-lung saying, "Would Your Honor please look at the picture first, then I'll tell the story."

Wen-lung received it and took a look. He saw that it was a story in pictures (一副畫圖事). There was one person in the picture whom he seemed to recognize as resembling his father, the prince. He also saw a dead general and a dead woman in a big hall. He also saw a small boy crying beside the baby of that woman. He also saw that there were many barbarian soldiers painted in the picture.

His Honor spoke: "What story is this, Wretched One? I don't understand. You come and tell it to me."

"Please just move a bit to the side, Your Honor, so that it will be easier for me to tell the story as I point at the picture. This place (所在) is the state of Lu-an in the central part of China. The old gentleman who is dead occupied the position of Governor and was named Lu Teng. This dead woman is Madame Hsieh. This is their son whose name is Lu Wen-lung."

"Wretched One," asked Lu Wen-lung, "how is it that he, too, is called Lu Wen-lung?"

"You just keep on listening," answered Wang Tso. "The state of Lu-an was ravaged by the soldiers of this Prince of Ch'ang-p'ing, Wu-chu. This Lu Wen-lung's father died out of loyalty to his country and

his mother died in defense of her chastity. Wu-chu saw that their son, Lu Wen-lung, was very young so he ordered a wet nurse to carry him safely. He took him to a foreign country and recognized him as his own son. Today it has already been thirteen years! Not only does he not take revenge for his true father, he calls the enemy his father. How can this not be upsetting?!"

"Wretched One," said Lu Wen-lung, "It is obvious that you are talking about me."[39]

On the Peking Opera stage, the story is known as "Eight Great Hammers" (Pa ta ch'ui 八大錘), "The Armless Storyteller" (Tuan-pi shuo-shu 斷臂說書), and other names.[40] Wang Tso in these versions usually brings with him a series of pictures which he hangs on the wall to illustrate his story.[41]

The Hall of Seven True (name of a Taoist deity) 七眞殿 (also called Double Yang [Heaven] Hall 重陽殿) in the Palace of Eternal Joy 永樂宮, a Taoist temple in Shansi, was constructed in the year 1252. Judging from their style, the wall-paintings inside of it are also from approximately the same period.[42] On its north wall there is a very interesting scene which has been called "Sighing over a Skeleton" 嘆骷髏. What the scene shows is a man using a picture to lecture to some onlookers, probably about death. It is highly reminiscent of Indian yamapaṭṭaka.[43] This proves that there existed, in the Yüan period, storytelling or at least lecturing with pictures, although we do not know by what name they were called except in the case of the expository tales (p'ing-hua). It is also something of a mystery how the Taoists came to employ this technique. Many of the motifs of the paintings at the Palace of Eternal Joy, it should be mentioned, though in a Taoist setting, are of Buddhist origin. For example, the flying devas 飛天[44] in the niche on the northern wall of

the Hall of the Pure Trinity 三清殿 are Buddhistic in their iconography.

The original "Picture of Spring Festival by the River" (Ch'ing-ming shang-ho t'u 清明上河圖) is generally recognized as depicting life in the Northern Sung capital of Kaifeng. Naturally, some of the later versions of it depart from an entirely authentic representation of the Sung but they are still worthy of consulting critically. And there are many other paintings of a similar nature which ought to be examined thoroughly by students of Chinese literature, not only for evidence of storytelling with pictures but for all types of oral performance including drama.

In section ten[45] of the White Cloud Hall copy 白雲堂本[46] of the "Picture of the Spring Festival by the River," which dates from the Yüan period,[47] we can see what is either a puppet show or a picture storytelling session.[48] Above the curtain or picture are two black objects which may be the supports for the cloth hanging or, if a puppet show, the caps of the puppets themselves. The Yüan Secret Treasure copy 元秘府本,[49] which is in the same tradition as the White Cloud Hall copy, unmistakably has a puppet show in the equivalent position.[50] But, no matter which it is, there is a man dressed in white standing just to the left of the cloth who appears to be holding a pointer. This, as we know from various Indian, Tibetan, and Japanese traditions, is the mark of a picture storyteller. The cloth is quite large; in real life it would be approximately five feet square. A sizable crowd (at least a dozen or more made up of all ages) has gathered. Others standing by the side are pointing in the direction of the performance as though they too would like to watch it.

Also, in section thirteen of the White Cloud Hall copy, we see a man carrying a very large picture, perhaps of a temple. There is an associate behind him with a box on his back who seems to be holding out a platter into which someone is depositing a donation. There are other copies[51]

of the "Picture of Spring Festival by the River" in which there is a scene (center top) where a man has set up a picture board with six human figures on it. He has drawn quite a gathering of people about him. He may be a physiognomist or a picture-explainer.[52] The Ming period copy of the "Picture of Spring Festival by the River" in the Metropolitan Museum of Art includes an interesting detail[53] that may have something to do with picture storytelling. We see a band of musicians who precede a kowtowing monk or priest. The monk wears a patchrobe exactly like that of the actor-priests in Taiwan religious folk-drama and he holds what ssems to be a begging cup at the end of a stick. A boy is carrying a large painting of what appears to be a temple or castle. Following him is a man who has a box on his back that is of the same shape and dimensions of a wayang bèbèr koṭak (wooden box or chest). It seems likely that it is used to store other scrolls and paraphernalia owned by the band. The box-carrier is also directing the attention of people standing by to the picture. It is possible that the group is engaged in raising funds for the temple and that they are telling stories of its founding. Or they may be trying to gather an audience for a performance of some sort. Whatever the exact nature of their enterprise, they are surrounded by spectators, including some ecstatic children.

Altogether, there are at least thirty-seven known versions of the "Picture of Spring Festival by the River" extant.[54] There are dozens of other pictures from the T'ang, Sung, Yüan, and Ming periods which depict in detail scenes of daily life. An exhaustive examination of these paintings is certain to be rewarding for the student of popular entertainment in these periods.[55]

In the mid-Ch'ing period, there was still a large number of p'ing-hua performers active in Yangchow. Li Tou's list of entertainers on the pleasure boats there names two individuals who still seem to have used pictures while narrating their expository tales. They are Kao Chin-kung 高晉公 with his "Picture of Five Virtues" 五美

圖 and Ts'ao T'ien-heng 曹天衡 with his "Picture of Good and Evil" 善惡圖.[56] Hsü K'o, writing near the end of the Ch'ing, tells of a strum-lyric (t'an-tz'u) performer in a Wu-hsi 無錫 teashop who "could explain the picture of the five moral obligations" 能說五義圖.[57]

Other survivals of storytelling with pictures that I know of include a Mongolian picture-book, without any written text, that shows Maudgalyāyana's[58] descent into hell to rescue his mother. This late nineteenth-century work is said to derive from narrative picture scrolls that were used in China (ultimately Tibet and India) for storytelling.[59]

Also current in the last century and into the first half of this century were the peepshows known as "Western Scenes" (Hsi-yang ching 西洋景), "Pulling Foreign Picture-Cards" (la yang p'ien 拉洋片), "Pulling Big Picture-Cards" (la ta-p'ienr 拉大片儿), "Pulling Big Picture-Leaves" (la ta-p'ien 拉大篇),[60] and "Pulling Big Pictures" (la ta-hua 拉大畫). "Pulling" in each case is a reference to the fact that the pictures were attached to a string which the operator would pull on to bring a new picture into view. As he did so, small cymbals fixed to the box would sound. These were shown mostly at temple fairs and in the entertainment centers of the north part of China. The operator usually provided only minimal identification of the various scenes, some of which were pornographic. He would attract customers by yelling out: "Hey! Take a look inside!" 嗨！往裏瞧／觀！[61] It is curious that, not only is the technique similar to the Iranian chekhr-e-fĕreng,[62] but the names in both cases make obvious reference to the foreign origin of the pictures.

Průšek had knowledge of picture-storytelling in China during the Second World War. After a brief discussion of pien-wen and pien-hsiang as narrative and illustration, he asks the questions, "Was not the same method used, perhaps, in the narration of historical tales? Did the storyteller perhaps show pictures to which he gave a commentary?" And he answers:

> The illustrations in the historical books and perhaps in others too could have been the form in which these pictures survived, and when the illustrations also disappeared, the notes to them may have survived in the form of these summaries of the action. The term p'ing-hua would then have been very apt for what the storyteller was doing, "commenting on and explaining" his pictures. The use of pictures when stories were being told still existed in China during the last war.[63]

I consider Průšek's remarks on this subject brilliantly suggestive and illuminating.

Even more recent information on this subject is to be found in Gary Seaman's 1977 films showing Chinese hell screens[64] and the dramas enacted before them. These films are important for their documentation of the survival in Taiwan of the use of pictures in the performance of Buddhist oral narrative. The dramas take place in conjunction with funeral ceremonies and are performed in front of a temporary alter erected especially for this purpose. The altar consists of hanging narrative picture scrolls. On the pictures are brief inscriptions in cartouches which describe the scenes depicted. It is noteworthy that the dramas enacted are the same as the stories depicted on the hanging scrolls (e.g., Hsüan-tsang's journey to the West and Maudgalyāyana's rescue of his mother from hell — journeys seem particularly well-suited for this kind of format). The actors who perform them even attempt to dress exactly like the figures they represent in the paintings. One definitely feels from watching these miniature plays that they represent an effort to animate the still pictures in front of which they are presented. It is known that Indian picture storytellers such as the bhopo do not simply recite their stories but also resort to a certain amount of music, gesture, and dance to vivify their presentation. One might imagine that the transformation performers, too, employed such talents in bringing

to life their transformation scrolls or tableaux. One of the poems I discussed[65] earlier does indicate that the performer wore a special costume. Uighur Buddhist nāṭaka, as described by von Gabain and Tekin, also bears certain similarities. It is, further, extremely important to note that the actors, though they may dress like Buddhist monks or saints during the performance, neither claim nor pretend to be such when they are off-stage and not acting. They are laymen whose profession is to perform religious drama when they are called upon to do so. This is also in agreement with our data and assumptions concerning the tellers of transformations during the T'ang period.

Appendix on Dating

Most of the dated transformation text manuscripts bear colophons that place them within the period of the Five Dynasties. These late dates for the copying of the texts, in most cases, have no bearing on the question of when the various transformations were originally composed. The earliest transformation texts are datable by internal evidence to the reign of Emperor Hsüan-tsung.[1] The combined emphasis in much of this literature on retribution and the Classic of Filial Piety also points to a time not long after Hsüan-tsung's reign. A few examples of dating Tun-huang popular narratives are given here only to provide a general frame of reference.

On the basis of a place name ("the modern Ch'eng-fu district" 今城父縣是也) in the Tun-huang Wu Tzu-hsü story, Hsieh Hai-p'ing dates it to sometime between the years 676 and 712.[2] The latitude of the date indicated by this place-name is actually much greater, namely 636-884 (based on the Tu shih fang-yü chi yao [Essentials of Geography for Reading the Histories] 讀史方輿紀要) as cited in the Chung-wen ta tz'u-tien. There are other grounds, however, for dating the story to the first quarter of the eighth century, for which see the "Introduction" to my Tun-huang Popular Narratives. While this may be true of the content of the story in its original recension, stylistically it is a much more mature work and should probably be dated to the late ninth or early tenth century.[3] Hence, I would concur with Wang Chung-min who believes[4] that the Wu Tzu-hsü story was written later in the T'ang period. The style is rather more literary than the normal transformation text and the story reads somewhat like a classical tale (ch'uan-ch'i).

Although the extant copy of the "Transformation Text on the Extreme Filial Piety of Shun as a Boy" was written down during the Five Dynasties period, its composition was probably originally T'ang. This may, in part, be deduced from the list of books therein that the boy Shun was said to have read, a list that is compatible with the curriculum of classical

studies during the T'ang. The same conclusions may be drawn regarding the Tun-huang story about Ch'iu Hu.

The "Destruction of the Transformations of Demons" (P2187), in spite of the 944 date in the colophon, must have originally been written during the Later Liang 後梁 (907-923). We can deduce this from the manner in which that dynasty is referred to on T354.13.

Both from their manifestly topical nature and from internal evidence (T115.9, 116.10, 117.2, 124.8ff), the composition of the transformation texts on Chang I-ch'ao and Chang Huai-shen can be dated respectively to not long after approximately 856[5] and 862 (probably sometime between 874 and 880).

The composition of the Wang Chao-chün transformation text is easily datable to approximately 775 since the heroine was given to the "barbarian" chieftan in 33 B.I.E.[6] and died in 25 B.I.E. The text mentions (T105.13) that a period of 800 years had elapsed since then.[7] The Wang Chao-chün transformation text also contains names of cities and places that were current during the Sui and T'ang. And the relations with the Turks described therein are not so very different from those which existed around the early part of the T'ang.

According to Nicole Vandier-Nicolas, the style of the illustrated scroll of Śāriputra's magic contest with Raudrākṣa (P4524) dates it to the eighth or ninth century.[8] This is in conformity with our expectations of when such a scroll would have been current.

The interested reader should consult Lo Tsung-t'ao, Tun-huang chiang-ching pien-wen yen-chiu, chapter 5, for extensive discussion of the dates of seventeen Tun-huang popular literary texts of various types. Kanaoka Shōkō, Tonkō shutsudo bungaku mokuroku, provides basic information for each datable manuscript. It should be reiterated as a general caveat for those who deal with Tun-huang texts that date of composition and date of copying are two entirely separate matters. Most of the dates that are determinable are of the latter category. In terms of literary history, dates of the former category, though harder to establish, are far more important.

Chapter Eight The Contributions of Transformations to Later Literature

The crucial overall impact of Buddhist literature on the development of Chinese narrative literature has already been delineated by Průšek:

> An analysis of the still preserved popular stories of the Sungs indicates that their form was but an adaptation and an improvement of the pien-wen of the T'ang period. Thus the hypothesis that even the secular narrators during the T'ang dynasty were already influenced by religious sermons becomes probable. Despite the fact that the narrators had existed probably in China for ages long,[1] still during the T'ang dynasty, this art had been permeated by the influences of popular, Buddhist literature to such an extent that it had become transformed into a new type of literature which had, in its form at least, very little in common with the ancient popular stories, the "hsiao-shuo," already mentioned in the literary history of the Han dynasty. Therefore, we may say that the history of the popular narrative and novel, such as it existed in China up to the most recent times, commenced no earlier than during the T'ang dynasty, and that even though this literature, within the scope of its development, had drawn upon purely Chinese material, still it was essentially a religious creation, a by-product of Buddhism and it bore traces of its origin for a long time to come.[2]

Průšek's observations in the latter part of this paragraph are of profound importance for the history of Chinese popular literature. The purpose of this chapter is to bring

together some of the findings, made by scholars who are expert in various genres of Chinese popular literature, that support Prušek's observations. We shall see that the impact of folk Buddhist transformation performances and popular transformation texts as well as Buddhist literature in general on later narrative literature in China — both fiction and drama — was enormous.

Liu Wu-chi sees "the germs of both fiction and drama" as having "long been existent in pre-T'ang times, but it was in the T'ang and Sung periods that they emerged from their embryo stage."[3] Fair enough, but one still wishes to know what were the nourishing factors present in the T'ang and Sung which caused these "germs" to sprout and ultimately to fructify.

Paul Demiéville dates[4] the beginnings of popular [written] literature in China from the eighth and ninth century — i.e., from the same time as the rise of Tun-huang pien-wen. And, although he does not spell out in detail the relationship between the two, he sees[5] the appearance of popular literature at that particular time as having to do with the fact that Buddhism reached its peak in China between the seventh and tenth centuries. This makes eminently good sense. Demiéville's analysis can be elaborated on by pointing out that the Buddhist influences which contributed to the appearance of popular written literature in China are manifold. They include social, educational, religious, literary, artistic, linguistic, and other aspects of the overall Buddhist impact on Chinese life.

Sun K'ai-ti has postulated the influence of Buddhist storytelling on the whole train of development in Chinese popular literature to the end of the Ming period:

> If now, in our researches, we look at [the matter] from [the standpoint] of artistic development, had there been no performances of pien and storytelling of the period after the Chin removed south to the T'ang and Five Dynasties, there could not have been the storytelling of the Sung nor the lyric tales

> (tz'u-hua 詞話) of the Yüan and Ming. Had there been no storytelling of the Sung nor lyric tales of the Yüan and Ming, there could not have been the late Ming short story.[6]

My only quarrel with this series of limited postulations is that, except in perhaps inchoate forms, pien cannot be shown to have come into existence before the T'ang period.

Perhaps the most straightforward general statement on the subject is that of Ogawa Tamaki:

> Vernacular fiction in China did not arise of itself nor did it have an independently occurring form. Rather, it was born under Indian influence. In other words, we may fairly say that its origins are in India. Today, there are many unclear points regarding the route of this influence. But, if we put forward the hypothesis that, within China proper, the direct parent of vernacular fiction is Buddhist literature — especially pien-wen — differences of opinion notwithstanding, I believe that it is nonetheless an appropriate explanation.[7]

Most prominent authorities on various types of prosimetric popular literature of the Sung and later periods trace these genres back to pien-wen. Cheng Chen-to has delineated[8] the basic outlines of the influence of transformation texts on the overall development of prosimetric literature (shuo-ch'ang wen-hsüeh 說唱文學) in China. Ch'iu Chen-ching states[9] that pien-wen is the forerunner of Sung and Yüan "expository tales" (p'ing-hua 評話) and all subsequent prosimetric literature. Li Shih-yü sees[10] "precious scrolls" (pao-chüan 寶卷) as growing out of pien-wen and Sung "sūtra tellings" (shuo-ching 說經). Tzu-ti-shu-hua says[11] that "banner brother books" (tzu-ti-shu 子弟書) derive from Sung and Yüan "strum lyrics" (t'an-tz'u 彈詞) but ultimately from T'ang pien-wen.

Yet it has not heretofore been adequately shown how these genres relate to pien-wen and, more importantly why the prosimetric form in popular literature can be traced back no earlier than to the T'ang period.

Yeh Te-chün begins his important study of prosimetric literature in the Sung, Yüan, and Ming periods by stating[12] that all prosimetric literary genres[13] are narrative, employ verse which is chiefly heptasyllabic, and are derived from Buddhist popular literature of the T'ang and Five Dynasties. Aoki Masaru, in a note written during July, 1941 and prompted by Tōhoku University 東北大學 Professor Doi Kōchi 土居光知, asserted[14] that European fiction also received an impetus from Indian storytelling. This reinforced his earlier opinion that Buddhist literature was the model for Chinese prosimetric storytelling forms. Fu Yün-tzu, too, has emphasized[15] the crucial role of Tun-huang popular literature in the development of Sung storytelling. Lo Chen-yü deduced that the "sutra-telling" 說經 of the Sung period entertainers directly derived from pien-wen.[16] It has been asserted,[17] as well, that there is a direct connection between transformation texts, the "history lectures" 講史 of the Sung entertainers, and the later historical romances.

Yüeh Heng-chün has pointed out the indispensability of Tun-huang transformation texts for the study of the vernacular short story in China: "In actuality, if there were no pien-wen, there would surely be no way to understand the origin of hua-pen.... However, by relying upon this relationship to hua-pen, it is also possible to provide a foothold for a certain aspect of pien-wen studies."[18] The "certain aspect" to which Yüeh refers is the developmental one.

Ch'iu Chen-ching sees the vital influence of pien-wen on later popular literature as having two chief aspects, its prosimetric form and the vivid quality of the stories that characterizes its content.[19] The former aspect was more decisive for the development of pao-chüan, chu-kung-tiao, ku-tz'u, t'an-tz'u, etc. and the latter aspect was more important in the rise of the vernacular short story and the novel.[20] Ch'iu holds that the two aspects exerted equal

force in the growth of Chinese drama. Anthony Yu also admits the important place of pien-wen (and, presumably, their oral antecedents) in the development of Sung and Yüan storytelling and drama. Although he is careful not to imply that any of the major novels had an "oral composition," his caution is not meant to negate the possibility of oral antecedents. "... Such rhetorical features as the Hua-shuo [話說] and Ch'üeh-shuo [且/卻說] (we were speaking of...) and the stock formula (if you want to know what follows, listen to the next round's unravelment), which open and close each chapter of the classic novel reflect unmistakably the expressions characteristic of an oral tradition."[21] Men'shikov, too, has remarked on the importance of pien-wen and Tun-huang songs for illuminating the origins of different genres of subsequent popular literature — story, novel, and drama — "in their genetic relationship with Buddhist literature."[22] Chou Shao-liang sees[23] the chief contributions of pien-wen to later popular literature as being the following: 1) such genres of folk literature as pao-chüan, t'an-tz'u, and so on are its direct descendants; 2) the use of verse passages in fiction; and 3) the prosimetric form in drama. Cheng Chen-to has discussed the developmental relationship between pien-wen and "strum lyrics" (t'an-tz'u).[24] And V. Hrdlička links[25] the big drum ballads (ta-ku-shu 大鼓書) of this century directly to pien-wen. It is likely that the influence passed through the little drum lyrics (ku-tzu-tz'u 鼓子詞) a Sung period popular literary genre for performance.

Fifty years ago there were still active in Kiangsu and Chekiang tellers of "precious scrolls" (pao-chüan 寶卷), some of whom frequented the small teashops and others, dressed as monks (but they were not really), who were itinerant beggars (N.B.). Ch'ien Nan-yang, who reported[26] this information, considered them to be descended from the Sung storytellers. This seems reasonable and, given the fact that Sung prosimetric storytelling can be traced back to transformations, establishes a tentative series of links between twentieth-century "precious scrolls" and folk Buddhist literature of the T'ang period. Hence, it is commonly accepted among scholars who have studied

pao-chüan intensively that their roots may be found in transformation texts.[27] Striking correspondences do indeed exist between certain pao-chüan and specific Tun-huang texts. There are, for example, pao-chüan on Maudgalyāyana, Meng Chiang-nü, the names of various birds 百鳥名寶卷,[28] and medicine names 藥名寶卷.[29]

Through examination of the history of the Meng Chiang-nü 孟姜女 story, it is apparent that the Tun-huang versions played a crucial role in its development. It is in the Tun-huang texts that the heroine's name is first fixed in its present form. There are other important details which differ from earlier versions and which become predominant in all later renditions. Among these is the fact that, in the Tun-huang texts, Meng Chiang-nü sets out on a long journey to send winter clothes to her husband, Ch'i Liang. This is highly significant in light of the fact that the episodic nature of prosimetric texts is particularly well suited to the narration of journeys, flights, and so on.[30] There are also a number of close parallels between the "Transformation Text on Wang Ling" and later fiction and drama dealing with the same subject but which seem not to have been present in earlier historical sources.[31]

Another scholar who credits pien-wen with having had a crucial formative influence on subsequent popular literature is Chang Ching-wen. Chang holds that "It is only due to the discovery of pien-wen that the origins of Sung dynasty hua-pen and chu-kung-tz'u [sic, ⟶ tiao], as well as later drama, pao-chüan, t'an-tz'u, ku-tz'u, etc. may be known, thus solving a number of problems in recent literary history."[32] And, again, "The alternate use of sung and spoken passages in drama is undoubtedly due to the direct influence of pien-wen."[33]

It is generally accepted that Yüan drama (tsa-chü 雜劇) has its immediate origins in the medley (chu-kung-tiao 諸宮調) and other nascent dramatic forms of the Sung period. At least one Yüan drama has the expression chu-kung-tiao in its title.[34] This means that, traced back further, the roots of Yüan drama are to be found in transformation

texts, for these latter have been shown[35] to have a close relationship to the intermediary Sung dramatic forms. The important influence of Tun-huang narratives on the development of Chinese drama has been recognized by Chung-wen Shih when she says that "It was the pien-wen (early popular literature) and the oral storytelling of Sung times that had the greatest bearing on the emergence of Yüan dramatic literature." And, again, "The pien-wen and the 'medley' [chu-kung-tiao] are the embryo from which Yüan prose writing [in dramatic texts] developed."[36]

This connection between Yüan drama and T'ang transformations would be logical even if we knew nothing at all about the Sung genres. For the form, the themes, and the narrative characteristics of the two genres bear obvious resemblances to each other. Even certain peculiar expressions in Yüan drama, such as t'ai chü (擡 [or 臺] 舉 "to look after; to nurture")[37] and tuan-sung (斷送 "to present a gift of money")[38] can be traced through the medley (chu-kung-tiao) to popular Buddhist texts of the T'ang period. And, although he considers them "crude by comparison," David Roy does mention[39] pien-wen together with Yüan drama. It is, furthermore, evident from Sun Hsien-chao's studies[40] of the origins of many of the most popular Chinese dramas that pien-wen and related art forms played an important role in the transmission of the stories which form their plots. Hsiang Ta has rightly stressed the seminal importance of Tun-huang materials — both in terms of language and of content — for the study of the development of the medley, Yüan drama, popular fiction, and so on.[41]

To assess properly the role of transformations in the rise of Chinese theater, it is necessary to discuss what dramatic traditions, if any, preceded them. There is no point in my attempting to detail exhaustively the pre-T'ang course of development of the theater. This has already been expertly done by Wang Kuo-wei[42] and Tadeusz Żbikowski.[43] I will make reference only to individual theatrical forms which have been singled out by various scholars as being

"the origin of Chinese drama."[44] By way of preface to my critical assessment of several of these proposals, I should state my understanding of what constitutes a true theater. Here I follow Chou I-pai who, in trying to discover when drama became an independent art in China, convincingly argues that the essential identifying factor for genuine Chinese drama is, as he says, "the enactment of a story"[45] or, we may say, "the enactment of an extended, episodic narrative." It is this very aspect of drama which transformations bequeathed to the Chinse theatrical tradition.[46]

Wang Kuo-wei, in his History of Sung and Yüan Theatrical Cantos (Sung Yüan hsi-ch'ü shih), suggested that the ultimate origins of the theater in China were the shamanistic dances of Shang and Chou times. In the sacrifices to spirits, the shamans would entertain them with song and dance. While it must be admitted that this is true in the sense that certain analogous movements and religious affinities do exist between the performances of shamans and those of traditional actors, it must also be stressed that it is a partial truth because mature Chinese drama consists of many more elements than those which could possibly have derived from sacrificial rites, thaumaturgy, and exorcism. It is misleading, for example, to equate the "exorcistic plays" (no-hsi 儺戲) which were performed until recently in Kiangsi and Anhwei with their ancient Han forerunners called ch'ü-no 驅儺. The latter were rites for expelling demons and ghosts; plays were performed in conjunction with such rites only after the development of the drama. On the other hand, we must also remember that the proto-dramatic performances of the Rajasthani bhopo, the Indonesian wayang bèbèr dalang, and other related semi-religious, semi-theatrical figures were partially shamanistic in nature.

The southern lyrics from Ch'u known as the Nine Songs (Chiu-ko 九歌) have also been offered as a precursor of Chinese drama. Although it is possible that these and, presumably, similar songs may have had some effect on the formation of the Chinese theater, it is inaccurate to consider them alone as being responsible for the birth of drama. They

represent, rather, a type of shamanistic literature,[47] and lack many of the most essential features of developed drama.

In the "Biographies of Jesters" (Ku-chi lieh-chuan 滑稽列傳) of The Records of the Grand Historian 史記, there is an account of one "Entertainer Meng" 優孟. Reference has frequently been made to this account as proof of the existence of the theater in China before the Han period. This reasoning, however, is fallacious because the account itself tells us very clearly that "Entertainer Meng" was nothing more than an impersonator; it makes no mention of the acting out of a story on the stage.

The "Biography of Ts'ai Yung" 蔡邕傳 in the History of the Later Han has the following passage:

> The scholars, in competing for advantage, made quite a stir. The more lofty among them were much given to citing classical exegesis and parables; the inferior ones would link up a series of vernacular expressions (su-yü 俗語), as though they were actors (p'ai-yu 俳優), or they would plagiarize entire texts and have the empty glory of a "famous name."[48]

This proves that Later Han actors did more than just indulge in mime, pantomime, dumb show, or skits. But it does not permit us to draw the conclusion that Han plays portrayed an extended scenario.

Another often mentioned source of Chinse drama are the "hundred entertainments" 百戲 of the Han period. In his "Rhymeprose on the Western Capital" 西京賦 (107 I.E.),[49] Chang Heng 張衡 (78-139) gives capsule descriptions of many of the "hundred entertainments." They include lifting heavy objects, pole-climbing, somersaults, playing with small wooden balls, wrestling, rope-walking, dressing up like a huge fish or dragon and dancing about, etc. Aside from the fact that most of these Han entertainments can themselves be traced to foreign sources,[50] none of them can be considered as drama since none portrays an

extended story.

The early Ch'ing writer, Na-lan Jung-jo, correctly saw a connection between the Western Regions and the rise of the theater: "Acting 優伶 flourished during the Yüan era but, during the Liang times (502-556), there was the 'Great Cloud Music' 大雲之樂 [51] in which an old man was made to enact matters of the transformations of divine immortals 神仙變化之事 . In actuality, acting begins with this."[52] While it is possible to make a case that "acting" begins with this sort of performance, it would be incorrect to say that drama did. The most we can gather from the description of the "Great Cloud Music" is that the performance consisted of music, perhaps song, and dancing. There is no evidence that an extended story was enacted.

A more realistic and accurate understanding of the origins of Chinese drama must take into account the fact that it is a complicated art form which consists of song, dialogue, music, gesture, dance, costuming, and so on. All of the various types of performances considered just above did contribute important elements to the evolving dramatic tradition. In regard to the question of the birth of Chinese drama, Taduesz Żbikowski has made the eminently sensible statement that, "In all probability, Chinese drama came to life as a result of the combination of two independently developing elements, the art of impersonation and acting on the one hand and the story-telling and ballad-singing on the other."[53] Żbikowski's statement has, however, less applicability for the southern tradition which he was studying than it does for the northern. L. Carrington Goodrich has alluded to the crucial impact of foreign influences during the T'ang period in the development of a full-blown Chinese theater: "In the field of drama, the earlier short plays performed by court fools developed into plays of some length, a development that may have had a central Asiatic origin."[54]

The gist of all my remarks here is simply this: Buddhist narrative arts were, by no means, solely responsible for the

birth and development of Chinese drama. The sources of Chinese drama are as infinite as are its many parts. What does need to be pointed out, however, is that the prosimetric, episodic shape of the narrative in the vast majority of Chinese performing arts, including the various traditions of the stage, are traceable to Buddhist story-telling, preaching, and lecturing. All the numerous attempts to find an earlier, native source for these characteristics of Chinese drama have failed because the necessary data do not exist. The data which lead the investigator to Buddhist oral narrative as the source of these characteristics are overwhelming and cannot be ignored.

In pondering the estent and nature of Indian influence on the development of the Chinese theater, I have often wondered about the origin of 介 (kai or kɛi) and 科 (k'uâ) ("gesture," "action or movement on stage"). Literary historians have thus far not provided any convincing explanation of the origins of these basic terms. The usual interpretation given is that 介 equals 界 ("intersection" or "break" or "division") and that 科 is the distinctive "movement" of the actor(s) which invariably occurs at or marks these important points in the progress of a play. But this is tantamount to no explanation at all. I believe there are grounds for speculation on the possibility that one or both of these terms may be derived from Sanskrit karaṇa ("posture"). In the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata[55] which established the science of Indian drama, there are 108 of these postures described. They have been carved in stone at Chidambaram. I once began a systematic comparison of the standard gestures in Yüan drama and in Indian dramaturgy.[56] The results were encouraging at a preliminary stage and merit further investigation.

One other important area that ought to be considered in any discussion of the evolution of the Chinese theatrical tradition is the contribution of shadow-plays and puppet-plays. It will be remarked that I place these two types of plays after T'ang transformations. Although it has often been asserted that both go back to at least the Han, such an

assertion requires critical examination.[57]

Ying Shao (flourished 178), in his Comprehensive Configuration of Customs, referred to puppet performers (k'uei-lei 魁櫑) at festivals in the Han capital.[58] But there are several other essential facts concerning the history of Chinese k'uei-lei which must be noted before any conclusions are drawn about the nature and significance of these performances. The first is that competent Chinese commentators from the T'ang and earlier have always recognized that these performances did not begin until Ling-ti's 靈帝 (168 to 188 I.E.) time, that they consisted of song and dance, and that they were originally used in accompaniment with funerary music. There is never any mention of their being used to tell a story or enact a drama before the Sung period. These bits of information allow us to draw the following conclusions about the historical development of puppets in China: "Puppets" began as funerary effigies (yung 俑)[59] which were used to replace the human sacrificial victims so well-known from the excavations of Shang dynasty tombs. Recent archeological discoveries in China attest to the widespread use of such effigies. Japanese burial mound figurines (haniwa 埴輪) also go back to remote antiquity. But, as with the Chinese funerary images (yung), there is no indication that these clay images were used in dramatic representations. The development of puppet plays is an entirely separate matter, one that is dependent on the prior existence of storytelling traditions. This is not to deny that the technical knowledge employed in making various types of dolls and funerary images could well be utilized in creating puppets for puppet-theater. The point is simply that, without oral narrative, puppets alone do not constitute a type of theater. During Han times, jointed string puppets (k'uei-lei) entered China and were notable as a technical advance over the immobile funerary images. But it would appear that the k'uei-lei had become detached from the narratives which, in India, they were employed to enact. Hence these novel devices in China were used primarily to entertain people at banquets with song and dance. It was,

to reiterate, not until the Sung period that they were reunited with a dramatic and narrative tradition.

Lo Chin-t'ang, in a brief but devastating article,[60] has cast serious doubt on the supposed Han origins of the puppet play. He has also demonstrated conclusively, following Hiän-lin Dschi,[61] that the reference to a puppet in Lieh-tzu 列子 [62] counts for nothing in terms of trying to find an early Chinese origin. In the first place, the book as a whole is a Chin dynasty forgery. Secondly, though the Lieh-tzu purports to be a Taoist work, it shows strong Buddhist influence at certain key points. Indeed, the preface by the reputed compiler, Chang Chan 張湛 ,[63] states that Buddhism and Taoism amount to practically the same thing. And the passage in Lieh-tzu which mentions a puppet bears a great deal of similarity, even in small details, to that in the Jātaka-nidāna 生經 , translated in 285 I.E. by Dharmarakṣa.[64] Both deal with the craft of the artisans who created the superbly life-like puppets and the king's reactions upon viewing them. Both also tell how the king becomes angry when the puppet eyes his consort. Dschi believes that these correspondences could not possibly be accidental. The same story also oocurs in Mahāvastu[65] and in a Tocharian text.[66]

The plethora of variant polysyllabic orthographies alone make it virtually certain that the Chinese word for string puppet is foreign in origin.[67] It is undoubtedly the same word as kukla[68] which appears in so many Eurasian languages with the meaning "puppet." The best information now available on string puppets is that they spread through Asia and Europe, presumably with nomadic gypsies who carried them from their ancestral home in northwest and north-central India.[69] From at least the beginning of the International Era, Indian musicians, storytellers, conjurers, and other types of entertainers spread over the Middle East, Europe, and Central Asia in huge numbers.[70] Their exodus had its ramifications in East Asia as well.

We may safely assume that there were true puppet plays by the time of the latter T'ang period. This is attested by

a passage from The Recorded Sayings of Ch'an Master Lin-chi Hui-chao of Chen Prefecture [d. 867]:

> The Master said:
> Look at the wooden puppets performing on the stage!
> Their jumps and jerks all depend upon the man behind.
> 師云
> 看取棚頭弄傀儡
> 抽牽都來裏有人[71]

There is also an extended metaphorical reference to string puppet drama in a Tun-huang text (S3872), one of the lectures on the Vimalakīrti-sūtra (T581.15):

> And it is like a mechanized puppet,
> That all because of pulling and drawing of strings and threads,
> May dance or sing,
> May walk or run,
> But when the canto's over and the story's finished,
> Is tossed to one side.[72]

Other Tun-huang manuscripts mentioning puppets are S4037, where in line thirteen we find the phrase "to work puppets" 弄傀儡, and in F365 which compares a puppet to samādhi (deep meditation).

It is conceivable that string puppets were used at Tun-huang to enact religious dramas. P2975v[73] is a notification to members of a religious association listing fines imposed for infractions of the association rules. Among the fines levied — all of which appear to have been used by the association in conjunction with meetings they held — is the item "string puppet(s)" 傀儡子. One wonders for what purpose a lay Buddhist association required puppets.

If genuine puppet-plays are not to be found in China before the T'ang period, there is likewise no proof of the existence of shadow-plays until the Sung. In the "Biographies of Imperial Wives" 外戚傳 of the History of the Han 漢書, there is an account[74] of a mysterious wonder-worker from Ch'i 齊 named Shao-weng 少翁 showing the emperor Wu 武帝 ("Martial Emperor") an image of his beloved Lady Li 李夫人 in the year 121 B.I.E. This was accomplished at night and involved the use of candles and curtains that had been set up expressly for the purpose. The "Biographies of Consorts" 后妃傳 in the History of the Sourthern Dynasties 南史 has a strikingly similar account[75] of the Liu-Sung emperor Hsiao-wu-ti 孝武帝 ("Filial and Martial Emperor") being shown, this time by a shaman, an image of the Lady Yin 殷 after she died. Both of these accounts are frequently referred[76] to as proof that China possessed a shadow-play from Han times on. But it is curious that, aside from the more obvious correspondences, both accounts mention a rhyme-prose or rhapsody 賦 written in honor of Lady Li. This alone makes the History of the Southern Dynasties account suspect. And, even were the latter account authentic, the technique of projecting an image on a screen would still have to be declared a rarity in China before the Sung (when it became popular) because it is mentioned only in these two works[77] which are more than five-hundred years apart. Still, assuming that such a technique did exist in the Han and Liu-Sung periods, it has no bearing on the question of the date when shadow-plays first appeared in China. For neither of these accounts pretend to disclose anything more than that a convincing likeness of a departed consort was shown to a lovesick emperor. There is not the slightest indication in these accounts of a narrative or dramatic performance. As such, they are largely irrelevant to the study of the history of the Chinese shadow-play.

An eleventh-century work attributed to P'ang Yüan-ying 龐元英, Chit-chat Meadow (T'an-sou 談藪), recounts briefly the anecdote about Shao-weng's efforts on behalf of the Han emperor. It then comments that,

> after this, the world had the shadow play. However, from the time of Han Wu on, nothing more was heard of it. During the period of Jen-tsung's 仁宗 reign (1023-1063) in the Sung dynasty, there were among the market people those who could tell the events of the Three Kingdoms. Some adopted their stories and, by adding embellishments, made shadow figures (ying-jen 影人)[78] so that, for the first time, representations (hsiang 像) of the battles of the Three Kingdoms — Shu, Wei, and Wu — were brought into being. They have been transmitted to the present day.[79]

We must note, with the author of this passage, that there is more than a thousand-year gap between the Shao-weng anecdote and the appearance of genuine shadow-plays in the Sung period. This same passage is repeated in The Notes on the Origins of Events and Things by Kao Ch'eng (fl. 1078-1085), under the heading "Shadow-Play," which contains important information on the history of shadow-plays. After recording with some scepticism the story of Shao-weng's causing the appearance of Madame Li's shadowy image for Han Wu-ti, Kao goes on to record[80] the passage quoted above. As presented by Kao, the passage would seem to be saying fairly straightforwardly that, so far as the story of the Three Kingdoms is concerned, the shadow-play versions developed out of story-telling during the Sung period.

What, then, led to the birth of the shadow-play after the T'ang? Sun K'ai-ti has put the matter in this fashion: "If the monks[81] who gave popular lectures during the T'ang and Five Dynasties had not set up illustrations at their lecture sessions, there might have been no basis for the birth of the shadow-play in the Sung."[82]

It is worth remembering that one of the purposes of Buddhist narrative as laid down by the Buddha himself is to teach the illusory nature of the world. Shadow-plays and

storytelling with pictures were particularly effective in this regard for they were performed in dark settings with lamp or candle illumination. Artificial illumination is a necessity for shadow-plays, of course, but we know from the modern Indian traditions of storytelling with pictures that a light is often shone upon the part of the picture being explained. The flickering flame reveals the scenes and figures in such a manner that, to the observer, they seem actually to have been conjured up out of nothing. I can bear witness to the uncanny effect presented by a wayang kulit (Indonesian shadow-play) performance. On October 25, 1976, I had the good fortune of attending such a performance presented by the talented American dalang, Larry Reed, at Harvard's South House. In many ways, I was more transfixed by the hazy dancing images projected by the oil lamp than by the clear and steady ones of modern cinema. This effect was heightened by the skillful shamanistic performance of the narrator. The whole Indonesian tradition of wayang in all its forms is living testimony to the truism that the Indian illustrated narrative performances were meant to convey point-blank the message that the world is but an illusion even though it may seem quite real. As Claire Holt puts it, all of the various types of wayang "reflect the same shadowy yet glittering universe permeated with supernatural forces, ever charged with tensions...."[83]

The didactic religious purpose of shadow-plays during the Ming period can be seen from the fact that their performance was referred to as "proclaiming scrolls" 宣卷 . Particularly in North China, where peasants were involved in White Lotus rebellions, the government laid part of the blame on the shadow-play performers. They were accused of "using paper men to stir up phantoms and create rebellion." The officials referred to these performers as "occult lamp bandits" 玄燈匪 and arrested them in large numbers.[84]

In Fukien and in Taiwan, shadow-plays are called "Leather Monkey Plays" 皮猴戲 . One is automatically led to think of the Indian monkey-god, Hanuman, and his lateral descendant in China, Sun-wu-k'ung ("The monkey who is enlight-

ened about emptiness") 孫悟空 . It is particularly appropriate that the shadow-play should be named after these heroes who are both known for their unparalleled powers of supernatural transformation.

Once again, we must ask whether it is probable that the technique of the shadow-play could have been transmitted into China from abroad. The answer is yes and, as with picture-storytelling and puppet plays, a Central Asian route is virtually certain. Proof of the existence of Indian-derived shadow-plays in Buddhist Central Asia during the T'ang period and earlier is found in the mention of the Prakrit name chāyā-nālai in a Khotanese text.[85] Chāyā means, literally, "shadow" (cf. Greek σκιά)[86] and the Sanskrit form of nālai is naṭaka which means "dance" or "drama."[87] In the so-called Book of Zambasta (V.98), chāyā-nālai occurs in combination with several words indicating unreality:

> So does he recognize this parikalpa [deception]: it is like a dream, a mirage. Until bodhi [enlightenment], it is like a magic illusion. A mere shadow-play is being performed.
> tta ttuto parikalpo paysendä hūni mäñanda marīce yā — va balysūstä kho māya samu chāya-nālai ggeiste[88]

The more evolved form naule, which seems to mean full-fledged drama, is found in a late Khotanese text.[89]

The equipment required for a shadow-play performance could be very simple: two hands, a white cloth, and perhaps a lamp. This is known from a poem about a "Hand-Shadow-Player" 手影戲者 by a Buddhist monk named Hui-ming 惠明 . The poem was published in the twelfth century by Hung Mai in his The Complete Recorder:

> With three feet of raw silk for a stage,
> He completely relies on ten fingers to act out his jokes;
> Sometimes, in the bright moon, beneath the

lighted window,
You can even hear a laugh coming from
his palm.[90]

There is, then, no difficulty as regards the problem of transporting over great distances elaborate equipment. The performer himself could surely have carried all the necessary properties, even if they consisted of a full set of shadow figures.

All things considered, it would appear that the rise of the shadow-play in China was ultimately related to the importation of Buddhist narrative and dramatic forms. The exact nature of transmission and adaptation will probably never be known, but the historical evidence presented here points to such a connection. Liu Mau-tsai has noted,[91] furthermore, that shadow-play and puppet play scripts stylistically resemble pien-wen.

Sun K'ai-ti's important article, "An Examination of the Derivation of the Conventions of Singing and Acting in Modern Drama from Puppet Theater and Shadow Theater,"[92] though not universally acknowledged by scholars, has never been seriously challenged. Without going into all of the elaborate details, suffice it to say that Sun identified[93] the following three characteristics of Chinese drama as having evolved directly from puppet and shadow plays:

1) The actor's aside to the audience upon first entrance (so he will not be mistaken for someone else) in which he tells who he is and, often, what he is going to do.

2) The distinctive design of facial make-up (lien-p'u 臉譜):
   a) to define the nature of the player;
   b) to fix his social position;
   c) to indicate his part in the play.

3) The gestures and postures of human actors that are highly unnatural and intentionally mimic those

> of puppets. This is true especially of the characteristic gait of the actor in Chinese drama. His leg bends at the knee to a right angle, rising perpendicularly to the floor and then dropping mechanically. This makes no sense until one realizes that it is identical to the movement of string puppets.

All of these characteristics are vestigal signs of the descent of Chinese drama from puppets and shadows. It seems to me that there is no other logical explanation than that advanced by Sun. This explanation is confirmed by the known historical process of evolution of Indonesian theater.

It would appear that the ideas which Sun K'ai-ti elaborated into a full theoretical statement had already been voiced several years earlier. Genevieve Wimsett, for example, writing before 1936, offered the following perceptive analysis, based partly on the ideas of Mei Lan-fang:

> Many of the Chinese actor's significant gestures are frankly patterned on the movement of a puppet swinging from its strings, and, consequently, executing stylized movements never spontaneous in the human being. So profound a student of the drama in all its phases as the celebrated actor, Mei Lan-fang, is of the opinion that the human actor is the direct descendant of the animated puppet, inheriting from this spiritual ancestor certain conventions of posture and movement still characterizing Chinese dramatic technique. As Dr. Mei points out, this peculiarity is well exemplified in the common wheeling movement with which the actor executes a rotary turn, no deviation from the fixed form being permissable that could not be executed by the puppet prototype. Certainly, in Japan the derivative art of the stage makes full acknowledgment to the seniority of the marionette.[94]

Sun also commented[95] on the fact that in Yüan drama only one character did all of the singing which he felt to be a logical consequence of its evolution from more purely narrative forms. As we shall see later in this chapter, there are many intermediary genres of popular dramatic narrative that serve to link human drama with oral narrative. Puppets and shadows occupy a place near the beginning of the separation of drama from its narrative roots. The transformation (pien) stands even further back on this evolutionary path of bifurcation. The aim of all of these arts is to create the impression that the story presented by the performer(s) is real. It is, incidentally, interesting to remark that in Peking opera, colored bursts of smoke are sometimes used to create a special atmosphere of illusion. One wonders whether this practice is in any way related to the Sung "gunpowder puppets" 藥發傀儡.

The descriptions of life in the Sung capitals contain valuable information on popular entertainments, some of which is directly relevant to our studies. The Records of Dreams of the Splendors of the Eastern Capital states that in Pien-ching 汴京, during the Ghost Festival of the seventh month (chung-yüan chieh 中元節), "the musicians 樂人 from the entertainment quarters [构肆, cf. 勾欄], starting from the seventh day, would enact the variety play 'Maudgalyāyana Rescues His Mother' 般『目連救母』雜劇. It lasted straight through to the fifteenth [i.e., nine days] before stopping. The onlookers were twice what they normally were."[96] This is interesting because it tells us that one of the most popular transformation texts had already by the Northern Sung become a true drama, that it was extremely well-received, and that it lasted as long as nine days.

Under the heading "Various Entertainers from the Entertainment Quarters" 瓦舍衆伎 of the Notes on the Sights of the Capital City, there is an important description of the shadow-play in Hangchow, the Southern Sung capital:

> At first, shadow-play forms were carved from plain paper 以素紙雕鏃(?)[97] by men of the capital. Later, they used leather decorated with colors to make them. Their stories 話本 are quite similar to those of the history-tellers 講史書者 ; for the most part they are half-true and half-false. The public-spirited and the loyal are carved with an upright appearance, the lascivious and evil ones are given ugly appearances. It is probably to embody rewards and punishments for the commoners in the markets who see the plays.[98]

What is most intriguing about this description is that it almost seems to suggest that shadow-figures were first cut out of picture scrolls made from plain paper. This is precisely the process of dramatic evolution which I have predicted for China on the basis of information from Indonesian wayang and Indian storytelling traditions. Also interesting in this description is the assertion that the stories of the shadow-plays were the same as those for storytellers. This, too, is in accord with the theory I have been proposing that fiction and drama in China are two sides of the same coin.

Also in the Notes on the Sights of the Capital City under the same heading, among miscellaneous manual arts 雜手藝 , there is mentioned[99] "Tricks with Thread" (pien hsien-erh 變綫兒). Pien here seems to imply a type of jugglery or prestidigitation. This immediately brings to mind a parallel with ancient Indian śaubhika which was both a type of picture storytelling and a form of conjuration.

Finally, in the same text, there is listed "sūtra-telling, that is to say the elaboration of Buddhist books."[100] A nearly identical definition is found[101] in the Ephemeral Millet Dream Record under the heading "Fiction Lecturers on Scripture and History" 小說講經史 . And in the Old

Affairs of Hangchow, there are listed under the heading "Various Types of Entertainers" 諸色伎藝人 seventeen "Sūtra-Tellers and Sūtra-Jokesters" 說經諢經. Only four of them are identified as "monks" 和尚, including the first who has the colorful appellation "Long Whistle Monk" 長嘯和尚.[102] Perhaps these are some of the categories that overtly religious transformations and sūtra lectures evolved into during the Sung period,[103] the word pien itself having been dropped because of its alien associations. The presence of assimilated Buddhist narrative themes and forms is conspicuous even in a cursory examination of these Sung accounts of entertainments. This is in sharp contrast to the accounts of entertainments from pre-T'ang times where the stress is on mimcry and acrobatics. We may conclude from this that T'ang Buddhistic performing arts must have had a profound effect.

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Chou Shu-chia states[104] that it is widely accepted among scholars that the Chinese novel finds its origins in T'ang Buddhist pien-wen. While this may be so, other scholars remain skeptical because the proofs of influence have not been made rigorous enough. Let us see if we can go part of the distance towards alleviating this deficiency.

According to Huo Shih-hsiu[105] there were two major literary developments in the T'ang period, poetry (shih-ko 詩歌) and the classical short story. Both of these he traces back to antecedents in the Six Dynasties period, the former to the phonological (聲律) researches of Buddhist translators and the latter to the "accounts of anomalies" (志怪) tradition which bear the direct impress of Indian influence. As Huo says, "Many of the Six Dynasties accounts of anomalies pilfered stories from the Buddhist canon or foreign legends...."[106] The classical short story writers absorbed and adapted these foreign tales with more skill and finesse than had their Six Dynasties predecessors. The indebtedness of the T'ang classical short

story to the Indian storytelling tradition can be massively documented by reference to such collections as the Pañcha-tantra, Kathā-sarit-sāgara and, of course, the Buddhist canon. The influence is obvious not only in terms of content (themes. motifs, and even entire plots have been borrowed) but also in terms of shape and form. Huo demonstrates,[107] beyond the shadow of a doubt, that one of the most famous short stories of the T'ang period, Shen Chi-chi's 沈既濟 "Record of Being in a Pillow" 枕中記 (also called "Yellow Millet Dream" 黃粱夢) has its source in a collection of Buddhist tales.[108] The same also holds true for the well-known story, "Tu Tzu-ch'un" 杜子春 ,[109] spectacular stories of swordsmen,[110] and countless other T'ang tales.

The early existence of a rich narrative tradition in India is indisputable. "Among the many volumes of the Theravada Buddhist canon is a collection of 547 popular stories,[111] taking up over 1800 pages in the standard English translation.[112] These form the collection known in Pali as Jataka, and commonly referred to as 'The Jatakas,' probably the largest and finest collection of narrative literature from any ancient civilization in the world."[113]

Eberhard has made the amazing statement[114] that "When a Chinese animal tale or any other tale can be traced as far back as the sixth century or earlier, it is almost certain that the tale is of Indian origin and that the origin can normally be proved by the Buddhist translations of Indian texts." But, upon further investigation, it turns out that the statement is not so amazing after all since this claim has been thoroughly documented by scholars specializing in early Chinese fiction. Huo Shih-hsiu has made a similar statement: "For a good many famous classical tales (ch'uan-ch'i) of the T'ang dynasty, we can nearly always find their origins in Buddhist sūtras or Indian stories."[115] He also provides abundant examples to substantiate his claim. Likewise, Hu Huai-ch'en has said that "Ancient Chinese popular tales and fiction written by literati invariably take their materials from stories in the Buddhist canon or from other foreign traditions."[116] "In sum," as T'ai Ching-nung has

written, "it is a fact that Indian stories had so deeply penetrated into folk works that people no longer were aware of the foreign thought [therein]."[117] Liu K'ai-jung has also written[118] of the vitally formative influence of Indian (especially Buddhist) literature on Chinese fiction, both in terms of form and of content, during the Six Dynasties period. He further states that this led to the creation during the T'ang of the genuine short story in China. And he goes on to describe the growth of vernacular literature in the Sung and Yüan as being a direct outgrowth of this Indian influence.

The relationship between transformation texts proper (i.e., apart from other types of Buddhist literature) and the classical Chinese tale (ch'uan-ch'i) is problematical. Liu K'ai-jung thought[119] that they were directly and intimately related although he did not spell out how this might have come to be. Maeno Naoki, on the other hand, has reservations about Liu's theory. He holds[120] that pien-wen, being a kind of performing art, can at best be considered a lower form of ch'uan-ch'i.

Perhaps, before going further, I should say someting about the basic terminology involved. The Chinese term for "fiction" is hsiao-shuo 小說 (literally, "small talk" or "minor talk"). This immediately points to a fundamental contrast with the English word which is derived ultimately from the past participle of Latin fingere ("to form" or "to fashion"). Where the Chinese term implies a kind of gossip or anecdote, the English word indicates something made up or crated by an author or writer. "Hsiao-shuo" implies something, not of particularly great moment, that is presumed actually to have happened; fiction suggests something an author dreamed up in his mind. By calling his work "fiction," an author expressly disclaims that it directly reflects real events and people; when a literary piece is declared to be "hsiao-shuo," we are given to understand that it is gossip or report recorded as faithfully as possible. For this reason, many recorders of hsiao-shuo are at great pains to tell us exactly from whom they heard their stories. Judged

by these standards, there is very little before the T'ang period that can properly be designated fiction in a narrow sense.

The "Bibliographical Treatise" of the History of the Han Dynasty tries to explain the origin of the term hsiao-shuo.[121] The "Treatise" states that the writers of hsiao-shuo probably derived from pai-kuan 稗官 ("tare[-gathering] officials"). "They are wrought from the chit-chat of the streets and the conversations of the alleys, what is heard on the highways and what is told on the byways." Supposedly, these anecdotes were gathered by the government in order to gauge the real sentiments of the people, the same as with the yüeh-fu 樂府 ("ballads"). This description in no way implies that there was a tradition of genuine fictional creation during Han times. Nor is there any evidence of a tradition of storytelling for the same period. This is, by no means, to affirm that there was no narrative before the T'ang period. The superb writing of the Chronicle of Tso (Tso chuan 左傳) and the Records of the Grand Historian are ample evidence of a highly sophisticated tradition of historical narrative. But this is not "fiction." From around the time of the Han dynasty on, however, there comes into existence what might be called fictionalized history in such works as the Intrigues of the Warring States (Chan-kuo ts'e 戰國策), the Spring and Autumn Annals of Wu and Yüeh (Wu Yüeh ch'un-ch'iu 吳越春秋), and the Lost Book of Yüeh (Yüeh-chüeh shu 越絕書).[122] Later, we find such works as the Esoteric Account of the Martial Emperor of the Han (Han Wu-ti nei-chuan 漢武帝內傳) and Miscellaneous Notes on the Western Capital (Hsi-ching tsa-chi 西京雜記). It appears that these latter works were not meant to be taken as fiction at all but rather as insiders' accounts of goings-on at court and so forth.

In order to gain a true comprehension of the rise of fiction in China, we must recollect that nearly all post-T'ang popular, fictional narrative adopts the pretense of the storyteller's mode. This is such a pervasive trait that any history of Chinese literature is obliged to take it into

account when making claims about the origins of fiction. Hence, there was great excitement when in the late fifties a now celebrated pottery figure of an entertainer was discovered in a Han tomb at T'ien-hui chen 天迴鎮 near Chengtu, Szechwan. It is a delightful work of art that shows a fat-breasted man energetically beating a small drum. Very soon after the discovery, the figure was being promoted[123] as a storyteller and later was considered by many writers of literary history to be substantial proof of the existence of a tradition of storytelling during the Han period. But the original archeological report, in a detailed description, responsibly identified it only as a "figure beating a drum" 擊鼓俑.[124] There is no justification for fabricating a Han period storytelling tradition on the basis of this engimatic statuette.[125] Chao Chün-hsien has shown[126] that there is yet no adequate proof adduceable to substantiate the claim that professional storytelling existed during the Han period. Though it seems, in all probability, that there ought to have been, we are not permitted to grant that it did without advancing particular data in support of such a claim.

The same holds true for written fiction. A late-Ming literary critic, Hu Ying-lin, states that T'ang and earlier authors did not write with a consciousness of creating fiction:

> In general, unusual tales were prevalent during the Six Dynasties. But they were mostly erroneously transmitted records; their words were not necessarily set down as wholly illusional. It was only with the T'ang that people consciously favored the strange, and borrowed "small-talk" [hsiao-shuo 小說, i.e., "fiction"] as a pretext for the thrust of their writing.[127]

A modern literary historian, Huo Shih-hsiu, makes a similar statement and points to the influx of literature from abroad as providing the impetus for this fundamental change in the

Chinese attitude toward fiction:

> ...Although we early on had the term "small talk" (hsiao-shuo), it was not until the classical tale (ch'uan-ch'i) of the T'ang dynasty that there began to be conscious creation. Furthermore, because of the absorption of a large quantity of foreign — especially Indian — stories, Chinese fiction was enriched and invigorated, thus opening up limitless new possibilities for later fiction.[128]

Liu Wu-chi, too, has seen the qualitative difference between T'ang and earlier narrative literature: "Crude and incidental in nature, meager in plot interest and characterization, these [pre-T'ang] anecdotes are not comparable in literary quality with later stories. It was not until the T'ang dynasty that Chinese fiction made an important stride in its development."[129] Hence, we may say that, before the introduction of Buddhism, there was no tradition of consciously created fictional or dramatic narrative in China. It must be recognised, of course, that there was an abundance of historical narrative, euhemerized mythology, and cultic legend. The possibility for the creation of genuine fiction in post-Buddhist times was due to the introduction of a new Weltansicht.[130] So far as the growth of fiction is concerned, the Six Dynasties must then be viewed as a kind of transitional period which lasted even into the beginning of the T'ang.

Tao-shih 道世 (fl. 668), the compiler of the Pearl Grove in the Garden of Dharma (法苑珠林), regarded the stories that he assembled therein — some of which are quite unbelievable because of their supernatural content — almost as journalistic news gathering.[131] They were, for him, reports of actual spiritual events. Kan Pao 干寶 (c. 300), in the preface to his Notes on Researches into Spirits (搜神記), also made it clear that he was attempting to record objective and verifiable historical data.

Kan Pao is at pains to point out that he is trying to write a factual history of the spirit world to supplement such works as Ssu-ma Ch'ien's Records of the Grand Historian which deal with the world of men. The brevity of the accounts of anomalies shows that the overwhelming interest of the researches was on content rather than on the development of the narrative or any of its constituent elements. Many of these accounts betray obvious Buddhist or more general Indian origins. Some show traces of an early Chinese mythology which has become fragmented. The nature of the collections and some of the remarks of the compilers indicate that these strange stories may have had a basis in oral tradition. But we have no way of knowing for certain whether such tales were transmitted by professional storytellers or simply were told informally and casually by many different types of individuals. There is some evidence in the stories themselves that the latter case is more likely to be true.

Lu Hsün's comments on Six Dynasties tales of the supernatural are instructive in this regard: "The men of that age believed that although the ways of mortals were not those of spirits, none the less spirits existed. So they recorded these tales of the supernatural in the same way as anecdotes about men and women, not viewing the former as fiction and the latter as fact."[132] Of the chih-kuai ("accounts of anomalies"), Jordan Paper has rightfully said that "These were not original fiction, but stories recorded in a journalistic fashion."[133] He has also characterized them as "usually short and written as an account of a strange, but factual incident, more in the style of journalism than fiction."[134] Hsü Chia-jui affirms[135] that, before the T'ang, there was no extended fiction. He holds that the expository tale (p'ing-hua) developed in the Sung because of the Buddhist influence from pien wen and that, thus, the ultimate origins of the Chinese novel are to be found in India.

Another important step in the development of fiction during the Six Dynasties period was a kind of coterie discourse called "pure talk" (ch'ing-t'an 清談). It was a droll, intellectual type of humorous exchange that was popular among

groups such as the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove. This social and philosophical discourse grew out of a movement known as "abstruse learning" (hsüan-hsüeh 玄學). This is sometimes called "neo-Taoism" by Western scholars but it should not be forgotten that it included elements of Buddhism and Confucianism. Pure talk anecdotes are, again, very short and the wit is so rarified that it oftentimes tends to escape us. These anecdotes do not pretend to be fiction but profess, rather, to be records of actual dialogues and colloquies.[136]

Now, when we come to the T'ang period, some very fundamental changes take place in the way fiction is told and written. The most important of these changes (prosimetric form, greater extension, abandonment of the claim that historically verfiable facts are being recorded, and so on), it can be demonstrated, are due to the massive infusion of Buddhism and the Indian cultural baggage it brought with it. It might well be asked, Why the T'ang period? Why not earlier? Had not Buddhism already penetrated China by the end of the Han dynasty at the latest? The reason these important developments in fiction did not take place until the T'ang period is because it was only then that Buddhism really came to be at home in China. It was during the T'ang that true Chinese schools of Buddhism were founded. More and more Chinese pilgrims were travelling to India (the names of over 100 are known); more and more Indians and Buddhicized Central Asians were coming to China. Against this mighty flood of Buddhist culture that poured over China, resistance was impossible. Finally, a sort of capitulation took place such that Chinese thought accommodated itself to the Indian Weltanschaung. The basic Indian presupposition about the world was that it is all illusion. Everything is, so to speak, "made-up" or, to press the point, a "fiction." In the Chinese view, everything is real and substantial. Things are not products of mind — they are empirically and historically verifiable configurations of material forces. At times, the physical stuff of the universe may be highly attentuated, but the phenomenal world was never considered to be a product of the

imagination. Given such differing ontological presuppositions, it is natural that there would be a tendency for fiction to be widespread in India while the Chinese environment would not be conducive to it. For this reason, it was only after Buddhism had thoroughly worked its way into many levels of Chinese society and Chinese people (some, at least) became familiar and comfortable with Indian ontological presuppositions that there developed a receptivity to genuine fictional creation.

If we are unable to find examples of extended, imaginative narrative in literature before the time of the introduction of Buddhism into China, nor can we discover artistic representation of serialized narratives.[137]

In a series of highly speculative articles,[138] Bulling has tried to make the case that certain tomb paintings from the Han period were representations of scenes from plays or illustrations of spectacles. Even if her hypothesis is proven true, we still have no way of knowing whether these "plays" were accompanied by dialogues or even narration. And, in any case, the themes are largely historical rather than imaginative and represent only single scenes; they do not convey the impression of extended narrative or dramatic presentation and so cannot account for the appearance of these latter literary forms during a later period.

In his article entitled "An Illustrated Battle-Account in the History of the Former Han Dynasty," Duyvendak offers evidence that certain Han historical narratives may actually have been derived from pictures. But the fact remains that, even if this be true, such narratives are historically and not fictionally motivated.

We do know that the Classic of Mountains and Seas 山海經 must at one time have been accompanied by illustrations.[139] This is alluded to, for example, in a poem by T'ao Ch'ien 陶潛 (372-427) in which we read this line: "And view the pictures in the Seas and Mountains Classic."[140] But it is also clear from such references that the illustrations were either individual scenes later described in the

text (which seems to have been the case with the Classic of the Seas) or single scenes that were intended to depict a portion of a pre-existing text. There is no evidence of any serial or narrative qualities in the illustrations themselves. Furthermore, even if there were, it could not be shown that these illustrations were evidence of fictional narration since they were intended to complement the purpose of the Classic of the Mountains and Seas, viz., ostensibly factual, geographical reportage.

By contrast, the most cursory examination of the history of Buddhist art reveals that it has had, from the time of its origins in India through its later diffusion to other Asian countries, a pronounced narrative content. The monumental art of Bhārhut and Sāñchī bears eloquent testimony to the important place of pictorial narratives in the Buddhist tradition from a very early period. In a late fifth-century inscription from cave 16 at Ajaṇṭā, there is a reference to pictures in a religious edifice: "(The dwelling) which is adorned with windows, doors, beautiful picture-galleries [su-vīthi], ledges, statues of the nymphs of Indra and the like, which is ornamented with beautiful pillars and stairs and has a temple of the Buddha inside."[141]

Visual aids have always played an important role in Buddhist evangelism and worship. Stein recovered from Dandan-oilik a picture of two "monks" preaching. One of them is holding some sort of cards (perhaps pictures) in his hand.[142] Also in the Stein collection[143] is a set of sketches for illustrations of the Vimalakīrti-nīrdeśa-sūtra which indicates that visualization was an important element in full apprehension of the import of religious stories. Similar sets of sketches have been found for other Buddhist sūtras, such as those for the Maitreya-vyākaraṇa which Akiyama has described[144] so well. Conze, in discussing Tantric art, gives a plausible rationale for this sort of imperative: "The artistic image is regarded as a basis for visualizing the deity. It is a kind of prop which should be dispensed with in due course, when what we would call the 'hallucination' of the deity takes its place."[145] Though Conze is here talking

about visualization of a deity outside of any necessary narrative context, the same impulse towards initial concreteness and later abstractness is witnessed in regard to Buddhist stories. The "imagined" image is considered to be more real than the graphic one. But the former cannot be attained without the aid of the latter. This is particularly true in Buddhism for the masses.

In the villages of north-east Thailand, the story of Wesandaun is recited during the Bun Phraawes festival in front of an enormous (as long as forty feet or more) painted cloth divided into several registers, each with many panels.[146] Winston King has stated explicitly how important religious pictures are for the common folk in Burma: "...The popular expression of faith consists usually in a round of periodic visits to pagodas for veneration of the images or the pagoda itself and edification by its pictures or for occasional instruction by a monk."[147] At Tilawkaguru, Burma, there are narrative wall-paintings from the Jātaka that are arranged in bands about one feet high.[148] The rows of scenes have a strip along the bottom which explains the scenes briefly, much as though a wayang bèbèr scroll had been pasted flat on the wall. For dividers between scenes, rocks, trees (N.B.), plants and occasionally even architectural elements are employed.

In his valuable study of the historical development of narrative illustrations in China, A-ying confirms[149] our expectation that serialized narrative pictures from the Han and earlier have not yet been discovered. The earliest serialized narrative illustration he mentions is a sculpture depicting scenes from the Buddha's life dating to 527. Another, dealing with the same subject, dates from 543.[150] A-ying identifies the next major step in the development of serialized pictorial narrative in China with the Tun-huang wall-paintings such as representations of episodes from the Lotus Sūtra and stories of former births of the Buddha. He also emphasizes[151] the importance of the more than twenty silk banners recovered from Tun-huang that mostly depict episodes of the Buddha's life and that were evidently intended to be hung on the walls of temples because of the triangular straps sewn on at the top and the type of

mounting around the banner. These banners are usually divided into four segments per side and were obviously intended for use as illustrative aids for conveying the significance of the major events in the Buddha's life. The earliest printed fictional and dramatic texts with accompanying illustrations are known, respectively, from Yüan and Ming times.[152] In short, one cannot help but come away from reading A-ying's history of serialized narrative illustrations in China with a profound sense of the formative impact of Buddhism.

Having investigated some ancillary topics that are beneficial to any general and theoretical discussion of the rise of fictional and dramatic narrative in China, it is appropriate now to turn to an examination of specific texts and forms which embody that nascent tradition.

The similarity in language (tending to the colloquial with little use of literary language particles), style (frequent grouping of characters in units of four), imagery (chiefly concrete), the Buddhist theme, and so on,[153] all point to a very close relationship between the Tale Interspersed with Poetry on Tripiṭaka of the T'ang Dynasty Retrieving Buddhist Sūtras 大唐三藏取經詩話 and transformation texts. But what is even more striking is that the titles of the chapters in this story about Hsüan-tsang end with the character ch'u 處 ("place"). There is simply no other way to explain the word in this context than to view it as functioning in the same way it does in the pre-verse formula in pien-wen. This demonstrable connection between the poetic tale about Hsüan-tsang and the pien-wen tradition allows us to link together hypothetically some of the evolutionary high-points in the formation of the Journey of the West thus: [disconnected stories about Hsüan-tsang's pilgrimage] ⟶ [established oral narrative(s)] ⟶ [oral storytelling with pictures] ⟶ [written transformation text(s)] ⟶ Tale Interspersed with Poetry on Tripiṭaka ⟶ Journey to the West.[154] Indeed, the crucial importance of Buddhism for the development of novels such as Journey to the West and Investiture of the Gods 封神演義

is so obvious that it scarcely requires demonstration.[155]

Hsü Hsiao-t'ung has shown[156] that the important structural concept of "session" > "chapter" (hui 回)[157] in Chinese popular fiction has a Buddhist origin. Before the T'ang period, hui did not have the meaning of "a time," etc. It meant, rather, "to turn," "to go back," and so on. We notice, however, that T'ang poets do begin to use it with the former meaning. Hsü explains[158] this usage as coming from the Buddhist technical term pariṇāmanā (回向 "transference of merit"). Buddhist texts (e.g., Awakening of the Faith in Mahāyāna 大乘起信論) often end with pariṇāmanā gāthā 回向偈 whereby the merit of the text is "returned" (i.e., "dedicated") to all sentient beings.[159] It was also always the practice to bring a worship service (fa-hui 法會) to a close with a pariṇāmanā text 回向文 in order to consecrate the merit acquired to the aim for which it was held. For example, when Ennin stayed at the Korean cloister called Red Mountain Monastery in Ch'ing-ning village 青寧鄉赤山院 (in Wen-teng 文登 district, Shantung), after the lecture, the lecturer recited such a text whereupon he left the platform. In a note to his translation of this entry in the Diary, Reischauer states that "Ekōmon 回向文 (here 迴向詞) are hymns or prayers chanted at the end of a service to bring the benefits derived from the service to others."[160] From the use of this sort of benediction to close a religious service, it is just a short step to the designation of a storytelling session as i-hui 一回 . If the "seat-settling text" (ya-tso-wen 押座文) in a popular religious service is comparable to the "entering words" (ju-hua 入話) of the story-teller or the "introduction" (yin-tzu 引子) in drama, then the pariṇāmanā at the conclusion of the popular lecture is analogous to the capsule summary with which the storyteller ends each section of his tale ("truly it is [a case of...]) and the exodium ("today we have seen...") at the close of the play. The expression for a general exit (san-ch'ang 散場) at the end of a storytelling session of dramatic production, incidentally, was originally a Zen euphemism for

dying (compare our expression "make one's exit").

Thus far in this chapter, I have tried to show that both fiction and drama received vital imputs from the Buddhist narrative tradition. If it be accepted as having had a shaping influence on Chinese popular literature, we would expect that fiction and drama would bear certain identifying marks of their descent from a common ancestor. This is, indeed, true and is easy to demonstrate.

Maeno Naoaki has observed that "There are two fields in Chinese literature the appearance of which was strangely belated. They are drama and fiction."[161] There is, of course, no simple answer to this dual conundrum. The factors inhibiting the growth of drama and fiction are many; to go into them thoroughly is the subject of another study. But it may not be too optimistic to hope that we have been able to discern in this study some of the factors which contributed to their growth from the T'ang period on. The central role of Buddhist popular literature, particularly oral transformations and transformation texts, in this growth cannot be overlooked.

Men'shikov has stated most forcefully the pervasive influence of transformation texts on all later popular Chinese literature:

> Pien-wen exerted considerable influence on subsequent Chinese literature.... The reasons for this influence lie first and foremost in its fundamentally new form.... [There are] certain other peculiarities which stipulate the influence of pien-wen.... All subsequent genres of Chinese literature in which, to one degree or another, these features are found (the drama, the short story, the early novel, and the sung-narrative genres) show either direct or indirect links to pien-wen.[162]

Eberhard, too, has perceived "the basic unity of novel, story-teller's tale, and play."[163]

Popular entertainers in the Sung such as storytellers,

puppet players, and shadow-play performers all used "story-roots" (hua-pen, not "prompt-books") as the basis for their narratives.[164] Since these story-roots were said to have been virtually identical, it is not illogical to assume that there is some developmental connection among these various forms of entertainment. Let us attempt to discover, in some specific instances, just what that might be.

The historical reasons for the intimate connection between fiction and drama have been most cogently delineated in a brilliant but unfortunately neglected study by Li Chia-jui entitled "Traces of the Transformation from Oral Narrative to Drama."[165] In this study, Li demonstrates that numerous types of dramatic performance in China, including the medley (chu-kung-tiao 諸宮調) and shadow-plays (teng-ying-hsi 燈影戲) bear the unmistakable marks of having evolved from storytelling:

> ...From the past up to today, regardless of which type of drama, at the beginning a few sentences are always recited as an introduction or a poem is recited upon stepping on the stage. These are vestiges of the "address" (also called "entering speech") at the beginning of an oral narrative. Furthermore, the self-announcement by characters of their names and surnames in plays and the narration of their background by the characters themselves, etc., cannot but be said to have been influenced by storytelling. When people first see Chinese plays, they are immediately perplexed by this sort of dramatic form. But, if they were to understand that it evolved from storytelling, they would no longer feel it strange.[166]

I will discuss in some detail just one of these transitional forms, the "Performance with Four Consecutive Sets of Dancers" (ta lien-hsiang 打連廂) which was said to be based on the Major Music of the Chin and Liao Dynasties 金遼大樂. The troupe consisted of actors (male

mo-ni 末泥 , female tan-erh 旦兒 , etc.) who moved about the stage (kou-lan 勾欄) and gestured but were silent, a narrator (called ssu-ch'ang 司唱) who was seated off-stage among the audience, and some musicians (balloon guitar [p'i-p'a 琵琶], reed-pipes [sheng 笙], and flute [ti 笛]). The narrator, in effect, related a prosimetric story. The actors were dependent on him and their movements had to conform to what he was saying. Among other remarks on the "Performance with Four Consecutive Sets of Dancers," Mao Ch'i-ling (1623-1716) states that "still the dancers did not sing; the singer did not dance."[167] As Li Chia-jui says, "In truth, the storyteller used human beings as puppets to portray the characters in the story which he was narrating."[168] This reminds one very much of Japanese puppet theater known as bunraku except that, with the latter, the puppets are not yet fully human. What is even more remarkable about the "Consecutive Sets of Dancers" type of play as a specimen of transition between oral narrative and genuine drama is that during the Ch'ing period, such plays evolved into a form where there was no longer a singer-narrator. Though still referred to as "Consecutive Sets of Dancers," the actors had begun to speak for themselves. Here again, however, there is a parallel with bunraku because we know, for example, that Chikamatsu's plays, which were originally written for puppets, are now generally performed by human actors. This type of dramatic performance survived into the twentieth century in Peking. In short, oral narrative which had previously been "illustrated" by human puppets had now become genuine drama. This points to a progression from oral narrative (with or without illustrative aids) to shadow and puppet plays then to human "puppet" theater and, finally, to genuine human drama. It is when the puppets and shadows begin to speak for themselves in the first-person that the transition from oral narrative to drama has been completed. But still there often remain vestiges of third-person narration. Given this sort of evolutionary progression, drama is bound to carry the unmistakable impress of its ancestor, the oral narrative.

Donald Keene, in a discussion of bunraku, has made clear that it is as much a form of oral narrative as it is a type of drama:

> Bunraku...is basically a narrative art. The chanter [tayū 太夫] declaims the story, altering his voice in the dialogue to suggest the tones of a warrior, a woman, or a child, and at times, in poetical passages, rising from speech to song. But he is neither an actor nor a singer, but a storyteller.... In some parts of Japan performances are preferred of the chanters alone without the puppets, as if the latter were an unnecessary or even undesirable addition to a master chanter's rendering of the text. The Bunraku plays, it need hardly be said, are written specifically for a narrator rather than for actors, as one can tell immediately from the almost invariable addition of such concluding phrases as "thus he spoke" or "he said with a smile." These comments are natural in a narrative, but would be unnecessary in a theatre of actors. Bunraku, then, is a form of storytelling, recited to a musical accompaniment, and embodied by puppets on a stage.[169]

Elsewhere, Keene has noted that still today, when performing kabuki plays, "the actors occasionally imitate the movements of puppets, thus acknowledging their debts to an older tradition."[170] This coincides perfectly with Sun K'ai-ti's theory of the development of Chinese drama.

Bastian, in a journey to Siam in the year 1863, noted[171] an unusual feature of the masked plays known as Len Khon. The actors, he observed, did not speak for themselves but had a narrator who spoke for them. Had he known the history of Siamese drama, Bastian would not have been so surprised by this peculiarity.

When the dalang of western Siamese shadow-plays narrates his stories, say for a pupil, he uses the form "X said 'such-and-such'" and "Y answered 'thus-and-so.'" But, during actual performance, he dramatizes the exchange of dialogue by voice modulation to indicate different characters who speak for themselves. Sweeney, in analyzing these two types of presentation by one and the same performer, refers[172] to them as the "narrative form" which is casual and the "dramatic form" which is non-casual.

There can be no doubt whatsoever that Indonesian wayang bèbèr (storytelling with pictures) and wayang kulit (shadow-plays) are not independent and unrelated entities. Both are utilized to tell the same type of stories, employ a similar orchestra (gamelan), and the figures in both have exactly the same appearance. Certainly one must have evolved from the other and logic alone would indicate that it was the complex which derived from the simple. But there are other reasons for declaring wayang bèbèr to be the earlier form. Among these is the analogous evidence from India where picture storytellers will occasionally also use dolls and shadows to enliven their performance. The pictures are primary; the shadows and puppets derivative. Hence, Batchelder's perception that wayang bèbèr "is a limited form of drama — a kind of illustrated storytelling —"[173] is essentially correct. In other words, wayang bèbèr is a precursor of wayang kulit and ultimately of wayang wong (human drama).

Soeripno's observations on the classical dance of Java lend support to the assertion of the primacy of shadow and puppet theater over human drama:

> The dance-dramas are derived from plays with puppets silhouetted against a screen, called Wayang Poerwa or Wayang Koelit. Wayang means shadow, and the fact that the play with human beings is also called Wayang, namely Wayang Wong, indicates clearly that the play with silhouettes is the original form. This is further shown not only by the mask-like lack of expression in the dancers' faces but also

> by their poses, since they always try to imitate the carved leather puppets of the shadow-plays and move in two-dimensional directions.[174]

Soeripno neglects only to search for the roots of shadow and puppet theater in picture storytelling. Claire Holt has also discussed[175] the formative effect of shadow plays upon the Javanese classical dance.

Pischel, too, is in agreement with the assertion that human drama in Asia is derived from shadow and puppet theater:

> It is not improbable that the puppet-play is in reality everywhere the most ancient form of dramatic representation. Without doubt this is the case in India. And there, too, we must look for its home.[176]

The stage-manager of Indian drama is still called sūtra-dhāra, "thread holder," which surely must derive from puppets. The attempt to explain this word as "the holder of the thread [of the narrative]" is too forced to be acceptable. Indeed, sūtradhār is still the name for puppet-players in India.[177] Furthermore, in the olden days of Indian drama, there was a man called sthāpaka who seconded the stage manager. Now sthāpaka means "the setter up" and this term too quite probably comes from the shadow or puppet theater.[178]

Kapila Vatsyayan, an authority on the Indian stage, has shown the interrelatedness of human drama with puppet and shadow-plays, picture storytelling, and "narrative theater."[179] It is no accident, for example, that Kathakali, a South Indian type of dance drama from Kerala Kalamandalam whose roots can be traced to at least the sixteenth century, is often referred to as a "story play."

Gargi, in discussing modern Indian folk plays, has appropriately characterized them in terms of cinematography and conjuration that have striking parallels to what we already know of Asian picture-storytelling traditions:

> The Sutradhar [stage manager, lit. "thread holder"], like a film editor, builds up a montage of varied dramatic episodes. It is the same spot, but it is transformed into a different place every time. The folk actor uses very few props. He creates palaces, rivers, forests, battle scenes and royal courts by the sorcery of his art.[180]

Sawada Mizuho has perceptively noted[181] that the arrangement and progression of episodes in the Maudgalyāyana transformation text greatly resemble the succession of scenes in a movie. This might very well be due to the fact that the basic shape of the text was determined by the strictures of a narrative picture scroll. This is certainly and demonstrably true of the Śāriputra transformation text. In the transformation tradition, as between narrative pictures and narrative text, the primacy of the illustrations is assured. However, this would seem to be in disagreement with Weitzmann's dictum that "The first condition for a text to be illustrated is its popularity."[182] By this, he actually means that a written narrative text exists first and that, because it becomes well known, there is a demand that it be illustrated. But Weitzmann, in making this formulation, was not taking into account the South Asian and East Asian experience. Here the progression to a written text has nearly always been dependent on the prior popularity of an orally transmitted narrative. If a given oral narrative were broadly enough known and sufficiently stable in content, it would be illustrated in paintings or in sculpture. Then, once an iconology developed which portrayed a relatively fixed narrative sequence, the reverse process occurred: the pictures would serve as the basis for written texts. All the while, of course, oral narrative continued to thrive. In Japan, at least, the pictures are understood to be primary in picture storytelling. This is obvious from the name <u>etoki</u> ("picture explanations"). Naturally the pictures did not

arise out of thin air. They were derived, as I have explained, from pre-existent oral narratives of broad popularity. In China, where we often encounter in titles the expression ping t'u 並圖 "together with pictures," the illustrations and written text are conceived of more as complementing each other. But even in China, an overall consideration of the relationship between transformation stories and transformation illustrations leads one to the conclusion that, between text and pictures, the latter were considered primary and the former explanatory. Thus, in the "Transformation on the Han General, Wang Ling" (T36.12), it is written that, "from this one layout is the beginning of the transformation." The written transformation still expresses deference to an ancestral or actual pictorial layout. This is a very important distinction to make and it deserves repeating. In China and in Japan, once an oral narrative achieved sufficient popularity to be depicted graphically, the pictures illustrating it were held to be primary in terms of their relationship to subsequent written texts which used them as a point of departure. Naturally, after a long period of development of the written text, it could attain a position of relative primacy with regard to later illustrations that accompanied it.

The situation described by Weitzmann, however, does seem to obtain for ancient Egypt. Gaston Maspero has suggested that Egyptian tomb paintings may have served as illustrations for established written narrative: "The scenes at the beginning of the Tale of Two Brothers might easily be illustrated by scenes from the paintings in the rock tombs of Thebes; the expressions used by the author are found almost word for word in the texts that explain the pictures."[183]

While discussing Assyrian palace wall narrative paintings, Güterbock makes an important distinction about two types of relationship between text and picture: "In the 'label' inscriptions writing serves to explain a picture; this is the opposite of illustrating a text by pictures."[184] This holds true in India, China, and Indonesia as well. Where the pictures are primary, the accompanying text is

brief and limited, at most, to inscriptions and labels. The multitude of empty cartouches on Tun-huang and other Central Asian paintings indicates that they were not very important components of the narrative complex. Where, on the other hand, written text occupies a noticeably larger portion[185] of the scroll, book, banner, or wall-painting, the pictures are proportionately secondary. But, regardless of whether text or painting is primary, there is always a pre-existent narrative. This narrative may be known to the artist and storyteller through written or unwritten forms, although the latter predominated in Asian folk and popular literature.

The most ancient examples of genuine Assyrian text illustrations are drawings which accompany liver omnia from the library of King Ashurbanipal of Ninevah.[186] It is interesting to note that, in one text,[187] the illustrations are preceded by a line which reads "this is the drawing of it." This is to be contrasted with transformation texts where there is first reference to a "place" on a picture and then the question "how shall I explain it?"

It is fruitless now to speculate on the possibility of cultural exchange between Indian and Middle Eastern civilizations before 1000 B.I.E. because there is insufficient knowledge of the types of communication which were being carried on at such an early stage. Furthermore, narrative illustrations have been excavated from Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa (third millennium B.I.E.), so it would seem that the Indian tradition was an independent one.

Weitzmann has specified the usual requirements for sequential narrative illustration:

> The essence of good pictorial narrative is not so much the concentration on a single event in a comprehensive picture that focuses on a climatic moment...as to divide an episode into a series of consecutive phases in which the protagonist is represented again and again....

> The art of such extensive picture narratives... reached its final solution in our own day in the motion picture.[188]

Since, as I have shown, Chinese popular literature was strongly influenced by a tradition of picture storytelling, we would expect that it have a basically episodic shape. In the following pages, I shall attempt to document this.

Students of Chinese literature are often perplexed by such (actually quite futile) questions as why tragic drama which cathartically reveals the hubristic struggles of a hero or the novel with its unified plot and emphasis on the psychological development of characters did not develop in China. In the first place, there is simply no necessity why they should have developed there. The philosophical presuppositions of China and the West were sufficiently different that it is only natural for them to have resulted in correspondingly dissimilar literary forms. I have never heard anyone ask the questions, "Why didn't the West have parallel prose?" or "Why did the West have no developed tradition of linked verse?" There were numerous literary genres in China which the West lacks entirely. Surely a people are entitled to invent and practice their own literary forms without asking whether these comply with the practices and predilictions of other peoples.

Another related factor is that no literary genre is eternal, all having a common evolutionary pattern of birth, growth, adaptation, and extinction. We in the West are ourselves now witnessing the demise of the novel. James Joyce's Finnegan's Wake and the works of Günter Grass are examples of the breakdown of the linear development of plot in extended fictional narrative. This fragmentation of linearity has also appeared in the world of art, witness the paintings of Pablo Picasso and Pieter Mondriaan or the sculpture of Henry Moore. Marshall McLuhan has discussed these tendencies within western, "electronic" culture as a whole; literary critics have delineated similar evolutionary trends in the history of the novel in particular.

We should not trouble ourselves unduly with such questions as why Chinese writers "failed" to create sustained fictional narrative. It is more appropriate to describe, rather, the authentic process of evolution of Chinese literary genres themselves without making favorable or unfavorable judgments as to how these compare to European genres. Still, the episodic structure of Chinese fiction is striking to those who encounter it for the first time, for example, in The Scholars (儒林外史) or even in some of the early short stories of Lao She 老舍 . Hence, it is meaningful to say that Chinese dramatic and fictional narratives tend to be episodic rather than sustained because of their historical roots in a common tradition of oral story-telling which emphasized discrete moments and loci presented in a sequential fashion. But it is facile to imply that this is, somehow, a congenital defect of Chinese fictional and dramatic literature. I would like, therefore, to propose the notion of an "episodic plot structure" which is applicable both to fiction and to drama in China.

All of this leads to the recognition that the basic "stuff" of both Chinese fiction and drama is the narrative moment (shih 時) and the narrative locus (ch'u 處). A succession of such moments and loci joined together constitutes an episodic narrative; this is the typical form of all prosimetric fiction and drama in China. For this reason, it would be unlikely to expect that the drama and the novel as they are known to the West could be found in pre-modern China. Because of the common historical origins of fiction and drama there, it is appropriate to speak in terms of narrational drama or dramatic narrative (in this analysis, fiction is subsumed under narration). By this is meant that most examples of the one partake, to a greater or lesser degree, of elements of the other. Skwarczyńska's analysis of the difference between epic (i.e., narrative) and dramatic forms of plot in the West is valuable for the contrast it points to in Chinese literature where no such strong dichotomy exists:

> We know that the epic and the drama are very much alike, both being founded on the construction of the plot. But there exist specific differences between the typical epic plot and the typical plot of drama. Undoubtedly, they both represent a growing sequence of events, framed by the beginning and the end. The events determine the fates of the heroes and are linked with each other not only as a succession of events but also with internal cause-effect ties. But for a typcially epic plot the majcrity of events happening externally, outside the hero, and from the outside somehow shaping his fate, will be satisfactory, while the typcial dramatic plot employs the majority of events determined by the hero's volition, and thus qualifying his deeds. Moreover, the typical epic plot may present the evolution of events in a straight line, in an ever changing stream of facts, internally connected and following one another. The dramatic plot presents the development of basic events resulting from a struggle, a clash of two antagonistic forces. For the epic it is enough to speak about the development of events, for the drama it is necessary to speak about the development resulting from a struggle.[189]

While the notion of the interdependency of fiction and drama may thus have only limited application for the study of these types of literature in the West, it is essential for the correct understanding and interpretation of Chinse popular literature.

It is not only legitimate to speak of narrational drama or dramatic narrative in the Chinese case, it is necessary to employ such terminology simply because it provides the critic with the conceptual tools for correctly interpreting

and illuminating individual works. A given work may more nearly approach or resemble one mode than the other, but it never totally eclipses either the dramatic nor the narrative (fictional). That this is an essential feature of Chinese popular literature is borne out by examination of well-known plays and novels. As such, the notion of narrative advanced by Scholes and Kellogg is not wholly applicable to Asian performing arts:

> By narrative we mean all those literary works which are distinguished by two characteristics: the presence of a story and a storyteller. A drama is a story without a storyteller; in it characters act out directly what Aristotle called an "imitation" of such action as we find in life. A lyric, like a drama, is a direct presentation, in which a single actor, the poet or his surrogate, sings, or muses, or speaks for us to hear or overhear. Add a second speaker, as Robert Frost does in "The Death of a Hired Man," and we move toward drama. Let the speaker begin to tell of an event, as Frost does in "The Vanishing Red," and we move toward narrative. For writing to be narrative no more and no less than a teller and a tale are required.[190]

Though to a Western theoretician it may seem a contradiction in terms, certain types of Indian, Chinese, Indonesian, and Japanese drama may utilize a narrator. And various forms of Asian storytelling may require puppets, shadows, or even actors as animated visual aids.

The dramatic and episodic nature of Chinese fiction is recognized by Francis Westbrook in his observation that "...Dream [of the Red Chamber] consists of brief and rapidly changing 'scenes,' skits in which the author's intrusion sometimes amounts to little more than stage-directions."[191] H.C. Chang has noticed the combination of the fictional and the dramatic in the short story called "K'uai-tsui Li

Ts'ui-lien chi" 快嘴李翠蓮記 : "'The Shrew' thus contains within itself the two basic ingredients...story-telling and dramatic performance."[192]

There was discovered in volume 13991 of the Grand Collectanea from the Eternal Joy Reign Period 永樂大典 , compiled at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the text of a play about the graduate Chang Hsieh 張協狀元 . After a proluge that is in the form of a medley (chu-kung-tiao 諸宮調) comes the following question: "Rather than singing and telling the medley like this, why not perform this tale as a drama [literally, present it in an elaborated fashion]?"[193] This is further indication that, even in the Ming period, it was thought easy to switch back and forth between oral narrative and drama.

The ambiguous status of such a work as "The Erroneous Execution of Ts'ui Ning" 錯斬崔寧 is apparent from an examination of the narrator's intrusions into the story. In a text interlarded with "now, to resume the story" 却說 and "let us not mention idle talk" 閑話休題 , we also find the narrator addressing his audience with the words "onlookers, listen to what I say" 看官聽說 [194] followed by a statement and a direct question. K'an-kuan 看官 is commonly interpreted to mean "reader," but this is actually impossible given the context. It would seem that we may have here a residual reminder of a time when "watching" was as important at a storytelling session as "listening."

One would expect that a shadow-play would employ direct, first-person dialogue but the Chinese performer often describes the actions of the characters in third-person narrative.[195] This is clear evidence of an evolutionary link to storytelling forms. Eggeling's remarks on a manuscript copy of Dūtāṇgada in the India Office Library are quite revealing in this regard: "Not only is the dialogue itself considerably extended in this version by the insertion of many additional stanzas, but narrative verse also are thrown in, calculated to make the work a curious hybrid between a dramatic piece (with stage directions) and a narrative poem."[196] It should be observed that this text is designated on various manuscripts as a chāyā-

nāṭaka (literally, "shadow-play"). It is most interesting to note, on the other hand, that there are pao-chüan ("precious scrolls," normally thought of as a narrative genre) in which the narrator speaks in different personae. Thus, such pao-chüan as that on Ho Wen-hsiu 何文秀寶卷 represent an intermediary, evolutionary stage between fictional narrative and dramatic narrative.

In Shantung "drum book" (ku-shu 鼓書) performances, a pair of storytellers work together, the narrative passing back and forth between them. One tells the parts about the main character and the other tells the parts about the supporting characters. The effect is clearly transitional between oral narrative and drama.

I was recently introduced[197] to a type of dramatic narrative or dance drama that is still performed in Shenyang (Mukden, Manchuria). It is called "Two Person Turn" or "Whirl-About Duet" (erh-jen-chuan 二人轉). The performance is accompanied by a fairly large orchestra (lute, dulcimer, three fiddles, clappers, mouth-organ, double-reed oboe, and cello [!]). The two actor-narrators wear costumes, use gestures, dance, sing, and engage in dialogue. Sometimes they simply narrate the tale in the third-person and the narrative thread passes back and forth between the two. In a more elaborate version which is presented on stage and is called "Play with Drawn-Out Acts" (la-ch'ang-hsi 拉場戲), the players have fixed roles. More than two actors are involved but only two appear on the stage at any one time. In contrast to the "Two Person Turn" where singing and dancing alone set the scene, in the "Play with Drawn-Out Acts," props and scenery are employed. The orchestra noticeably adopts the percussion patterns of Peking opera which were lacking in the simpler version. The most elaborate type of related theater is called "Kirin Opera" (Chi-chü 吉劇). In this type of play, a third actor may appear on the stage as well as whole chorus-like groups. The actors engage in full-blown operatic dialogue and wear the elevated soles and long sleeves of operatic actors. Thus, in the same area of China,

we can still observe a whole series of related performing arts that are arranged along the spectrum from narrative to drama.

Yüan and Ming drama often have passages that betray their origins in storytelling. Such passages are clearly narrative and stand out starkly from the dramatic dialogue. Without a background knowledge of the development of Chinese drama, it is difficult to comprehend the reason for their existence.

In many types of Chinese storytelling, even to this day, the performer uses a large variety of gestures and movements which makes the session fall somewhere between simple narration and drama:

> To convey the idea of someone running with all his might, he waves his arms and heaves his shoulders. The only "properties" are a fan or a handkerchief. Folded, the fan can be a sword or a whip; opened, a hat, a bed coverlet or a sail. The handkerchief can serve as a letter, a written accusation, or many other things. The narrator moves very little, but expresses the essence of the character with a mere sweep of the eye or a symbolic movement of the hand or fan. In the past a young person was thought to have acquired his fundamental training after four or five years of apprenticeship, and mastery of the art only after lifelong practice.[198]

The semi-narrative, semi-dramatic nature of Chinese storytelling is forcefully seen in this translation of an actual transcription of a scene fom The Western Chamber as told by a Soochow performer:

> (Speaking as the narrator): As a matter of fact, Ying-ying is not asleep at all.... After the maid has gone, she wonders about

> what she has done. She thinks (Impersonating Ying-ying): "I am the daughter of a prime minister, but I've ordered my maid to take a message to Chang. I'm sure she will not tell anyone else about it, but I'm afraid she'll laugh at me behind my back." (Speaking as narrator again): Thoughts run wild in the head of the young girl as she lies on her bed. She hears the footsteps of Hung-niang on the stairs. Hung-niang enters and Ying-ying closes her eyes, feigning sleep... Hung-niang lifts the curtain of the bed. This angers Ying-ying, who feels it a rude action. Then she hears Hung-niang say; "You don't sleep at night but love to sleep in the daytime. What's the matter with you?"
>
> Her anger mounts. (As Ying-ying): "She speaks to me as if she were my superior.... She's doing this because I asked her to take the message. Now she's proud, thinking she's done a great service...." (As narrator): Anger burns in Ying-ying's heart, but she keeps her eyes tightly closed and says nothing.[199]

The Soochow strum-lyric (t'an-tz'u 彈詞) performer whom we have observed adopts the voice and expressions suitable for all the characters he portrays. He alternates narration with spoken dialogue, gestures, makes sound effects, creates a setting, fills in background, and so on. It is impossible to type such a performance as being either strictly narration or drama. Sometimes the lead performer, who plays a three-stringed fiddle (san-hsien 三弦), is accompanied by another player on the biwa (balloon guitar or lute, p'i-p'a 琵琶) who may also take an acting role. In this century, still more instruments have occasionally been added and the instrumentalitsts may all sing and act. There is thus very little difference between this form of what was originally an oral narrative and operatic drama.

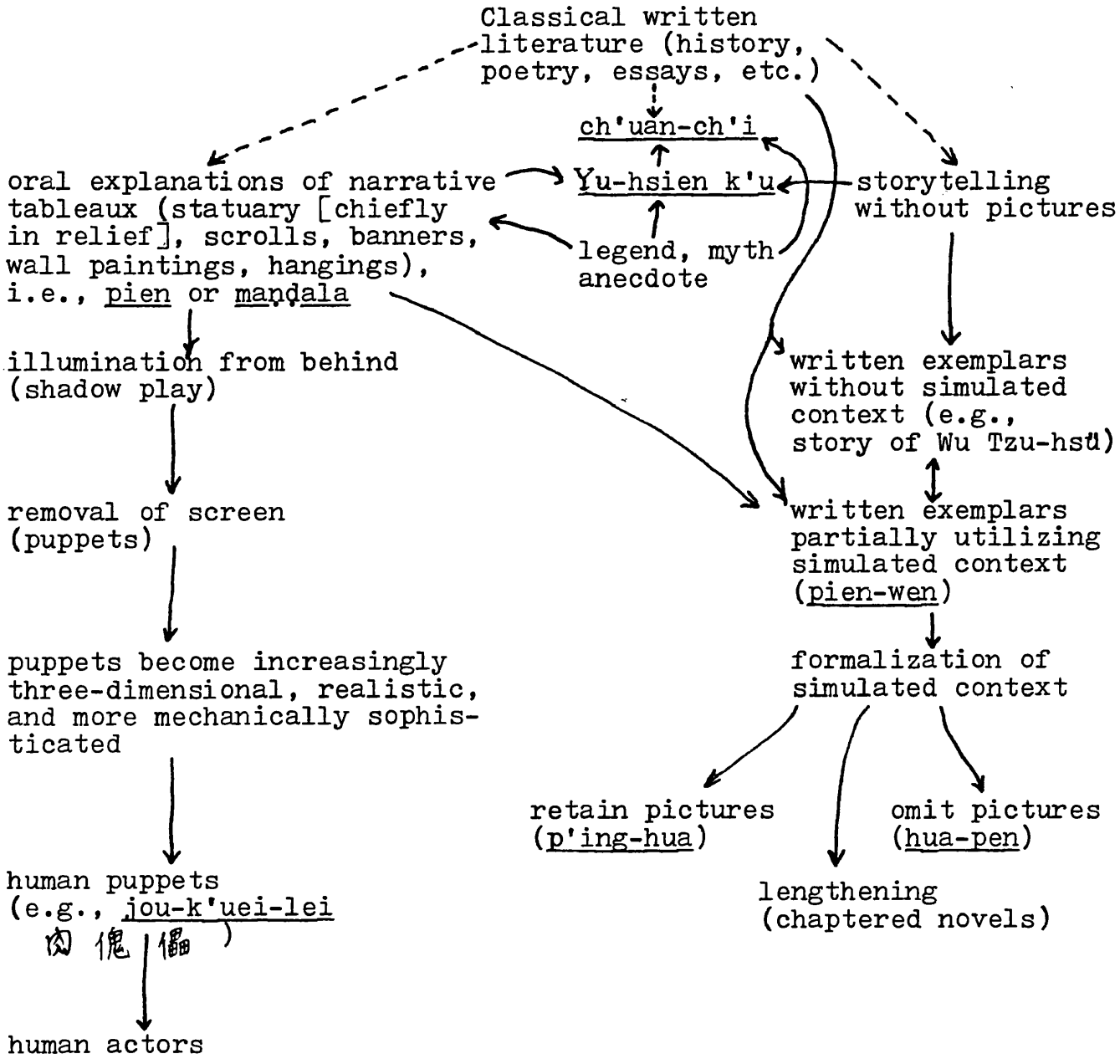
Chiang Po-ch'ien has also observed this ambivalent nature of Chinese oral performing arts when he says that "the drum-songs, precious scrolls, and strum-lyrics which are current today, strictly speaking, are not really fiction but nor are they drama...."[200]

The seventeenth-century playwright and literary theoretician, Li Yü 李漁 (1611-1680), stresses heavily the relatedness of the narrative and the stage. As explained by Patrick Hanan, "...he occasionally refers to stories while discussing plays. The copious reflexive comment in his fiction constantly makes use of terms that belong properly to the drama."[201]

Thus, while on the one hand Chinese fiction has a strong dramatic component, on the other hand Chinese theater has a noticeable narrative factor. Heightened conflict is not its central feature. By Western standards, building up to a confrontation or climax is expected even in comedy. With Chinese drama, however, the play proceeds through a flow of episodes that is essentially narrative in nature. Hence, I reiterate the suggestion that we think in terms of "narrational drama" and "dramatic narrative" since, in China, the two are never wholly separable. By "dramatic narrative" and "narrational drama" I mean two closely related classes of literature that are neither simply narrative fiction nor theatrical drama but that embody elements of both to varying degrees. This partly accounts for the tendency of those critics who are accustomed to and conditioned by a strict dichotomy between the narrative and dramatic modes to find popular Chinese literature wanting. The thesis which I am here attempting to develop, from an evolutionary perspective, is that the character of both fiction and drama in China has been determined by the common forbear from which they sprang, i.e., story-telling. I am, therefore, in complete agreement with Vandier-Nicolas when she describes pien-wen as a category of texts "intermédiaire entre celle du récit et celle du drame...."[202] The only proviso that needs be made for this type of description is that it not be understood as relating to a process of development which has occurred only once in history.

That is to say, although pien-wen may represent the first such evolutionary connecting link between narrative and drama that is known for China, various forms of storytelling survived or suceeded it and continued to spawn new kinds of theater and, naturally, new "intermediary" genres. The sequence of the development of fiction and drama from storytelling which I have been discussing may be schematically depicted as in figure one. Some of the steps depicted here may be repeated or varied many times. Hence this diagram should be thought of more as indicating evolutionary linkages than as mere chronological events. It should also be noted that drama and fiction continually enrich each other at every stage of the process after they have arisen. And, naturally, there was mutual interaction between them and other genres (ranging from written history to lyric meters) as well. The schematic arrangement presented here omits many subsidiary influences (dance, mime), intermediary steps (medley, court text), by-products (precious scrolls, strum-lyrics), and hybrid forms (four sets, drum book) of the evolutionary process.

FIGURE ONE


Classical written literature (history, poetry, essays, etc.)
ch'uan-ch'i
Yu-hsien k'u
oral explanations of narrative tableaux (statuary [chiefly in relief], scrolls, banners, wall paintings, hangings), i.e., pien or mandala
legend, myth anecdote
storytelling without pictures
illumination from behind (shadow play)
written exemplars without simulated context (e.g., story of Wu Tzu-hsü)
removal of screen (puppets)
written exemplars partially utilizing simulated context (pien-wen)
puppets become increasingly three-dimensional, realistic, and more mechanically sophisticated
formalization of simulated context
retain pictures (p'ing-hua)
omit pictures (hua-pen)
human puppets (e.g., jou-k'uei-lei 肉傀儡)
lengthening (chaptered novels)
human actors

Chapter Nine Conclusions

The study of pien-wen began in 1916 with the publication of Kanō Naoki's "Materials for the History of Chinese Popular Literature (Shina zokubun gakushi kenkyū no zairyo)." Wang Kuo-wei and Lo Chen-yü, who initiated pien-wen studies in China, had both been to Japan where their attention was drawn to this subject by Kanō's studies. But in spite of this early beginning, pien-wen studies may still be said to be in their relative infancy.[1] There is yet no satisfactory understanding of the meaning of the word pien-wen agreed on by a majority of scholars; the corpus has not been defined; few translations have been made; annotations and commentaries are virtually non-existent; the historical development has not been studied; the social and religious setting has not been thoroughly investigated; the relationship to Indian storytelling has not been examined; and so on. Given the fact that pien-wen is now generally recognized by historians of Chinese literature to represent a crucial phase in the development of popular genres, the state of the field leaves much to be accomplished. I hope that the studies reported in this book have made some small contribution toward the furtherance of our knowledge of these aspects of transformation texts.

Several facts about transformation texts have become clear during the course of these researches. On the basis of evidence available to us from the Tun-huang manuscripts, the structural pattern of transformatin texts — with very few exceptions — is found to be highly consistent. It includes, as its primary identifying characteristics, the alternation between prose and verse (normally rhymed and heptasyllabic); the pre-verse formula; and an episodic narrative patter. The essential relationship of transformations to pictures has also been brought out. It is furthermore clear from the available evidence (e.g., colophons on S2614 and PK876) that the lay students who were attached to various temples and monasteries in Tun-huang served as the usual copy-

ists of transformation texts. This is perfectly understandable, since they would have been among the more literate members of the community and hence comparatively well qualified for the task. It is, however, obvious to anyone who examines the manuscripts that they were still learning and that their accuracy may have been limited by the fact that they were transcribing from sources originally oral. It is also understandable that individuals attached to the temples and monasteries would have been called upon to transcribe folk and popular Buddhist literature since it was here that the performers were likely to have gathered often during fairs and other religious gatherings. The lay students would have been particularly well suited for the purpose of copying down these performances as best they could since they, like the performers themselves, straddled the religious and secular worlds.

Another aspect of transformation texts that I have tried to clarify is whether they should be classified as a form of evangelism or a type of entertainment. In spite of the fact that nearly all students of Chinese popular literature equate or link very closely the two, it is apparent that popular lectures (su-chiang) and transformation texts were quite different phenomena. A popular lecture was a religious service conducted by a monk to edify and instruct his auditors in matters pertaining to Buddhist doctrine. A transformation text was a written narrative which derived from oral performances of folk entertainers that may or may not have had overtly religious content although they first took shape in a religious environment.

I have also attempted, in these studies, to account for the relative paucity of literary and archeological evidence for transformation performances. In the first place, even in a climate highly favorable to the religion they represent, popular literary texts and picture scrolls are hard to find. For example, in Indonesia, where storytelling with pictures (wayang bèbèr) was still current at the end of the last century, only two or three dozen scrolls survive. There are several reasons for this, Among them is the fact that the owner of a picture scroll keeps it for professional purposes.

Such scrolls are very sacred and highly private. They belong to a single individual or single family who uses them repeatedly in performance so that they quickly become tattered and torn. In India, it is usually the practice to destroy through burning or sinking in a river or pond such venerable but no longer serviceable objects. Once the lineage of performers dies out, the scrolls disappear — except in this century when there have been numerous collectors interested in and committed to the preservation of folk and popular culture.

Popular written literature, in the past, has not survived well primarily because those who were wealthy enough to collect manuscripts did not consider them worthy of preservation. A man owns certain books or manuscripts. When he dies, they would probably be turned over to his sons, but perhaps the sons would not be interested in keeping them or the family would break up. It is easy to see how, in one or two generations, an informal collection could be utterly lost. But in China, there is a more important reason for the swift disappearance of popular Buddhist literature: the determined and active hostility of the Confucian elite toward it. The prefact to the Imperially Commissioned Complete Prose of the T'ang stands as a devastating self-indictment of such practices. Here, among other confessions of bigotry, we read that "As for the essays, spells, gāthās, hymns, and such like of the Buddhists and Taoists, we have completely excised them in order to prevent the spread of depravity and to correct the minds of men."[2] The guardians of respectability have been monstrously successful in systematically destroying much of China's past. The persistence throughout Chinese history of such a mentality and its pernicious effects make the Tun-huang manuscripts inestimably precious. For through them, we can get a glimpse of how the common man lived in the T'ang period and what he believed. In this same vein, it is ironic that, to learn about Chinese popular culture before this century, we are so often obliged to travel to Japanese temples, museums, and libraries.

During the course of my researches, I have developed the idea of the basic unity of fiction and drama in China

that is due to certain pan-Asian literary phenomena. In a scientific spirit, I should like to propose the following theory in order to account for some noticeable features of the theater in Asia: Drama, at least in South, South-East, and East Asia, has its roots (or, more precisely, some of them) in the explanations of pictures of a narrative nature. I posit an evolutionary progression from picture storytelling, through shadows, puppets, and human puppets to genuine human drama.[3] This theory does not deny or overlook the existence of other types of early thaumaturgical and terpsichorean performances. It is only intended to describe the usual development of dramatic narrative in the areas where it is held to be applicable. The theory will surely be modified and refined as it is subjected to the criticism of scholars upon whose specialities it touches. But the available evidence does seem to point to the need, in the study of Asian fiction and drama, for a unified narrative and dramatic theory.

Although there are works which may be more or less dramatical in nature and those which may be more or less narrational, the two modes are organically inseparable in China and elsewhere in Asia. They are organically related by virtue of the common origin of certain basic characteristics which they share. These are, among others, prosimetric form and episodic structure. The common origin which impressed these essential features both on popular Chinese fiction and on drama is that of storytelling, specifically folk Buddhist storytelling with pictures. Naturally, Chinese fiction and drama have taken shape under the influence of numerous other factors, both native and foreign. The frequent resort to parallel, euphuistic prose must surely be regarded as a thoroughly Chinese impulse. On the other hand, many of the tunes utilized as dramatic cantos came neither from the Chinese nor the Buddhist (i.e., Indian) tradition but from North, Central, and South-east Asian lands. Thus it would be simplistic to assert that either popular fiction or drama in China came whole cloth from any single source. Many elements were involved in the growth of Chinese popular literature. The purpose of these studies has been to examine

in depth one crucial stage in that development, the transformation text.

NOTES

Notes to Chapter One

1. For a rough count of the extant manuscripts, see the first appendix to "Inventory." When I visited Tun-huang in the summer of 1981, the director of the research institute at the Grottoes of Unsurpassed Height, Ch'ang Shu-hung 常書鴻 , told me that during construction in 1945 some new manuscripts came to light. There are in this group approximately 300 items, of which 86 are scrolls. These newly discovered manuscripts, which are all sūtras, are kept in the research institute at the Grottoes of Unsurpassed Height. They had been sealed in the belly of an earth god (t'u-ti p'u-sa 土地菩薩) by the Taoist caretaker of the caves before his discovery of the major cache of manuscripts in cave 17 (Tun-huang Institute number). According to Ch'ang, this proves that manuscripts were preserved at Tun-huang in more than one location.

2. For a summary of the discovery, disposition, and significance of the Tun-huang manuscripts, see Denis Twitchett, "Chinese Social History from the Seventh to Tenth Centuries." I shall touch upon this matter again briefly near the end of the chapter.

3. See Paolo Daffinà, "L'Itinerario di Hui Shêng," Appendix 1 (pp. 259-260), especially p. 260n4 which cites the extensive scholarship on this name. Also see H.W. Bailey, "Ttaugara," p. 893, who suggests a possible Tocharian origin, and Ikeda On, "Tonkō," p. 194. In her Einführung in die Zentralasienkunde, von Gabin gives Droana as the name for Tun-huang.

4. For example, some Tun-huang manuscripts that refer to Khotan include the following: S5659, S6551v, P2022 et seq., P2647, P2812, P2826, P2889, P3151, P3184v, P3397, P5535, F191, D1502b, D1265 and 1457, D2143, D2149v, and D1074. Manuscripts that mention the Uighurs, to name only a few, include P2992v, P3016v, P3028, and P3077v. Uighur, Khotanese,

and Tibetan writing occurs separately on Tun-huang manuscripts and in combination with Chinese.

5. There are many evidences in the Tun-huang manuscripts of frequent contact with other parts of China. PK6836 (copied in the year 630), S523, and S3870 are sūtras from Ch'ang-an; S996 is a sūtra copied in the year 479 in Lo-yang; S2140 is a list of Buddhist works from Ch'ang-an; S8101 is a calendar from Ch'ang-an; P3629 is a letter from the Fukien area; and so forth.

6. Demiéville, tr., Le concile, p. 308n. For a sketch of the geography and history of Tun-huang, see Kanaoka Shōkō, Tonkō no bungaku, ch. 1 (pp. 3-23).

7. Science and Civilization, vol. 1, p. 126.

8. Tun-huang was occupied by the Tibetans in 781 and freed from their control by Chang I-ch'ao 張義潮 in 848. See Fujieda Akira, "Toban shihai-ki no Tonkō," p. 199. For a detailed chronology of the history of Tun-huang, see "Tonkō Bukkyōshi nenpyō" by Yoshimura Shūki, et al. Convenient and accessible chronological information concerning Tun-huang is available in Kanaoka Shōkō, Tonkō no minshū, pp. 359-365. Also see A. Rŏna-tas, "A Brief Note on the Chronology of the Tun-huang collections."

9. His will is given on S4472. For information on Yün-pien, see Kanaoka Shōkō, Tonkō no minshū, p. 167.

10. Pañcaśirsha or Pañcaśikha.

11. See Su Pai, "Tun-huang Mo-kao-k'u chung ti 'Wu-t'ai-shan t'u,'" especially pp. 53ff.

12. The History of the Northern Dynasties, which also records (CH, 1389) this same passage, has here "the Kingdom of An" (安 instead of 女).

13. CH, 1579-1580; KM, 67.2507b.

14. Chinese Art and Culture, p. 221.

15. See, for example, Kanaoka Shōkō, Tonkō no minshū, p. 29.

16. See Fu Chen-lun, "Tun-huang ch'ien-fo-tung wen-wu fa-hsien ti ching-kuo."

17. Many of the relevant materials regarding the discovery of the manuscripts have been conveniently assembled in a chronological narrative by Eugene Eoyang in "The Historical Context for the Tun-huang pien-wen." The first-hand description of Stein may be found in Serindia, vol. 2, pp. xxi-xxii, and Ruins of Desert Cathay, vol. 1, pp. 166-194, pp. 211-219, especially 217-218. Pelliot's account may be found in his "Une bibliothèque médiévale." See also, for the discovery of the manuscripts, the accounts given in Kanaoka Shōkō, Tonkō no bungaku, chapter 2 (pp. 24-45); Kanaoka Shōkō, Tonkō no minshū, pp. 23-24, 56-63; and Kanda Kiichirō, Tonkōgaku gojū nen, passim.

18. Tonkō no bungaku, p. 67.

19. On Ancient Central Asian Tracks, pp. 203, 205, and 206.

20. Pelliot, "Une bibliothèque médiévale," p. 506; Su Ying-hui, "Pa Hei-ch'eng so ch'u Hsi-hsia shih hsieh-pen"; Saeki, Nestorian Documents, p. 253; Seng T'ung-wen, "Tun-huang shih-shih feng-pi nien-tai chih mi."

21. Lionel Giles in Stein, Serindia, vol. 2, p. 821n2a.

22. Grousset, Chinese Art and Culture, p. 222, gives the year 366 for the digging of the first cave. Most scholars hold that the caves were begun in 353.

23. Introduction to Opisanie kitaiskikh rukopisei,

Dun'-khuanskogo fonda, vol. 2, p. 5 and "Izuchenie drevne-kitaiskikh pis'menn'ikh pamyatnikov," p. 59.

24. When I visited Leningrad in the summer of 1981, the authorities of the Library of the Institute of Asian Peoples (Academy of Sciences) kindly granted me access to their collection of Tun-huang manuscripts. While there, I examined several hundred items and wish to express publicly my deep gratitude for this rare opportunity afforded me. Professor Lev Men'shikov generously allowed me to use a draft catalog for 3,000 entries not included in Opisanie kitaiskikh rukopisei and a preliminary index of an additional 4,000 manuscripts, both of which were prepared by him and his colleagues.

25. During my visit to China in the summer of 1981, the authorities of Peking National Library informed me that there are plans to make a descriptive catalog of the Tun-huang manuscripts in the rare book collection. I was told the same at the library of Peking University for the manuscripts that are kept there. I was privileged at both libraries to see all of the manuscripts that I requested. For this kind consideration, I am deeply grateful.

26. For a good general introduction to the manuscripts, see Fujieda Akira, "The Tun-huang Manuscripts" in Zinbun and "The Tun-huang Manuscripts" in Essays on the Sources for Chinese History.

27. "Shina zokubun gakushi kenkyū no zairyō."

Notes to Chapter Two

1. Tun-huang pi-hua Fo-hsiang t'u yen-chiu, p. 29.

2. Jen Pan-t'ang, T'ang hsi-nung, p. 51.

3. For both these opinions, see Kanaoka, "Mokuren henbun," pp. 133 and 139n2.

4. In spite of this minimal caution excercised by the T editors, Tochio Takeshi, "Tonkō henbun...no hikaku," p. 91 persisted in referring to a mysterious Pien-wen sou-shen chi 變文搜神記.

5. Men'shikov, et al., Opisanie, vol. 1, pp. 579-588 (nos. 1470-1489).

6. Leong Weng Kee, "Pien-hsiang yü ch'a-t'u hua-pen," p. 8.

7. "Hen to henbun."

8. In his "T'an T'ang-tai min-chien wen-hsüeh."

9. Ibid., p. 77.

10. "Some Questions," p. 212.

11. "Ts'ung pien-wen tao ta-ku, pao-chüan, yü t'an-tz'u" [From pien-wen to ta-ku, pao-chüan, and t'an-tz'u] 從變文到大鼓寶卷與彈詞, in Hsiao-shuo yü hsi-chü, pp. 90-97 (p. 91).

12. "On the Word 'Pien.'"

13. "Some Questions Connected with Tun-huang pien-wen."

14. This notion is propounded in almost identical language ([它是]從散文變化而來[的]所以就

稱為變文) by Lao Kan, "Tun-huang chi Tun-huang ti hsin shih-liao," p. 52 and Su Ying-hui, Tun-huang lun-chi, pp. 46-47. The fallacy of Lao's reasoning is clinched by the fact that, in his previous sentence, he had declared that pien-wen are called what they are because they have been transformed from canonical or classical literature into something more accessible to the common people. It is inconceivable that pien could stand for two such different ideas at one and the same time.

15. Hsiao-shuo yü chiang-ch'ang wen-hsüeh, I, p. 7.

16. "T'an T'ang-tai min-chien wen-hsüeh," p. 75.

17. "T'an pien-wen," pp. 199 and 201.

18. Ch'a-t'u pen Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh shih, p. 449. Cf. Jaworski, "Notes sur l'ancienne littérature populaire en Chine," p. 184.

19. Chung-kuo su-wen-hsüeh shih, vol. 1, p. 190.

20. Ch'a-t'u pen Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh shih, p. 451.

21. Liu Wu-chi, An Introduction to Chinese Literature, p. 154; Robert Ruhlmann, "Traditional Heroes," p. 143; Lai Ming, A History of Chinese Literature, p. 254; Ma and Lau, ed., Traditional Chinese Stories, p. xxii; Fujino Iwatomo, Chūgoku no bungaku to reizoku, p. 164; Yang Yin-shen, Chung-kuo su-wen-hsüeh, p. 93. A typical formulation of this view is that given by Ch'iu Chen-ching in his Tun-huang pien-wen shu-lun, p. 19 (copied almost verbatim from Tz'u-hai, yu 63 [p. 2709]): "'Pien-wen' means to alter 更易 the original text 文 of a Buddhist sūtra or an indigenous Chinese story and, furthermore, to expand and elaborate upon it, causing it to be changed 變 into a popular, vivid lay lecture."

22. Yin-yüeh hsiang li-shih ch'iu cheng, p. 18. Meng Yao

(Yang Tsung-chen), Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo shih, 1, p. 110 offers a similar explanation.

23. Hsi-ch'ü tz'u-tien, p. 641.

24. "Ta-chung wen-i yü k'ou-yü-shih," p. 13.

25. Chinese Civilization, p. 224.

26. A History of Chinese Literature, p. 254.

27. Frodsham, New Perspectives, p. 18 also renders pien-wen as "illustrative texts."

28. "Word of Mouth," p. 50 and cf. pp. 167 and 212.

29. "Zoku-bungaku," p. 105.

30. Hattori Katsuhiko, who made a very careful study of the relevant Chinese sources, mentions singing, music, acrobatics, dancing, all sorts of conjuring, and magic during the Northern Wei, particularly as they reveal foreign influence. But nowhere does he mention storytelling with pictures or pien. See his Hokugi Rakuyō no shakai to bunka, especially chapter one (pp. 143-187) of the second section ("Culture" [Bunka hen 文化編]), entitled "Court Plays and Entertainments in Loyang during the Northern Wei" (Hokugi Rakuyō ni okeru kyūtei hyakugi to sono geino 北魏洛陽における宮廷百戯とその藝能) and chapter five (pp. 232-283) of the third section ("Buddhism and Culture in Loyang during the Northern Wei" [Hokugi Rakuyō no Bukkyō to bunka 北魏洛陽の佛教と文化]), entitled "Buddhism in Loyang during the Northern Wei and Amusements and Entertainments" (Hokugi Rakuyō ni okeru Bukkyō to goraku geino 北魏洛陽における佛教と娯樂藝能). See also Hattori's Zoku Hokugi Rakuyō no shakai to bunka.

31. Chinese Literature, p. 323. Brown, "From Sutra to

Pien-wen," p. 71 subscribes to a similar view.

32. Op. cit., p. 182.

33. "Studies in Sung Time Colloquial," p. 6.

34. "Pien-ko, pien-hsiang, yü pien-wen," p. 75.

35. Rulan Pian, in conversation, informed me that pien occurs in musical usage (一 變) with a meaning which might be translated as "realization" or "rendering." I have been unable to demonstrate to my own satisfaction that this usage is in any way related to the pien of pien-wen and pien-hsiang. Adele Rickett has called to my attention the use of pien in criticism of the Book of Poetry to contrast with cheng 正 (poems supposedly dealing with periods of good governance). Cf. James Liu, Chinese Theories of Literature, pp. 64-65 and 120. Here again there is no conceivable connection with the overwhelming Buddhist world of pien-wen and pien-hsiang. But it is important to mention these usages in order to show what pien-wen did not mean. Likewise, it is somewhat surprising that no student of pien-wen has yet mentioned that these two characters occur next to each other at the beginning of the twenty-ninth chapter of Liu Hsieh's 劉 勰 (465-522) Wen-hsin tiao-lung [The Literary Mind and Ornate Rhetoric] 文心雕龍. This chapter, the title of which is "T'ung-pien [The Unvarying and the Varying]" 通 變 , has been studied exhaustively by Ferenc Tökei, Genre Theory in China, pp. 135-163. Liu Hsieh was himself a Buddhist, and a great deal of Buddhist ontology worked its way into the Literary Mind. He explicitly mentions prajñā in chapter 18 and there are many other evidences of Buddhist philosophical underpinnings as has been demonstrated by Leei Shih, Wen-hsin tiao-lung yüan-tao yü Fo-tao i shu-cheng [A Comparative Study...]. But his understanding of pien is strictly classical and is founded squarely on its usage in the "Appended Explanations" of the Book of Change. Apparently, Liu Hsieh had either not yet grasped or not been influenced by the Buddhist notion of transformation.

Hence, when he speaks of pien-wen chih shu 變文之數 ("the art/technique by which a literary work is rendered an [individual] variant [of the genre, t'i 體]"), there is no question of wholly new transformational creation in the Indian sense but only of modification of a pre-existent entity. This is in conformity with our expectations of the general level of understanding of Buddhist notions of transformation in China even so late as this period. It would seem that other Buddhist concepts, such as "emptiness" (śūnyatā), "extinction" (nirvāṇa), and so on, were more easily comprehended because there were similar Taoist concepts (wu 無 , absorption into the Tao 道 , etc.). This also helps to account for the persistent Chinese interpretation of Buddhist pien as "strange" until well into the T'ang and, in many cases, even after that time.

In a letter to Hui-sheng 與惠生書 , the T'ang literary critic, Ssu-k'ung Tu 司空圖 (837-908), juxtaposes the ideograms pien and wen. Read in context, however, we see that he is actually discussing a "change in the quality of writing" 變文質 since the time of the sages. He is not referring to transformation texts. Ch'in-ting ch'üan T'ang wen, vol. 163, 807.6a. Called to my attention by Andrew Jones.

36. "Tu T'ang-tai su-chiang k'ao," p. 381.

37. "Kuan-yü pien-wen ti t'i-ming," pp. 196-197 and 214-215.

38. "T'ang-tai su-chiang k'ao," pp. 310-312.

39. A.N. Zhelokhovtsev and Yu L. Krol', "Ob etimologii i znachenii termina byanven'," especially pp. 141-142.

40. "The K'uai-t'i," pp. 113-114.

41. Jigoku hen, p. 150.

42. E.g. Chen Tsu-lung, La vie et les oeuvres, p. 57;

Li-li Ch'en, "Pien-wen Chantefable."

43. Chinese Literature, p. 23.

44. Tun-huang shih-shih chiang-ching-wen yen-chiu, p. 1 of English summary.

45. Airs, p. 42.

46. P3697, P2747, P2648, P3386 [the previous three items actually constitute a single manuscript, the title given at the end being the same as Jao's], P3197, S5540, S2056v [title at head 大漢三年楚將季布罵陣漢王羞耻羣臣嫉罵牧羊詞文], S5439, S5441, and S1156.

47. T71.3-4.

48. Ballads and Stories, p. 246.

49. As cited by Průšek, "Researches into the Beginning of the Popular Chinese Novel," p. 104n1.

50. Ancient Buddhism in Japan, vol. 1, p. 328.

51. "Dans un écran de radar," pp. 482ff.

52. Li-tai ming-hua chi, p. 60.

53. Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting, vol. 1, p. 257n3.

54. "Tu T'ang-tai su-chiang k'ao," pp. 380-381. Those who would agree with Chou include Tanaka Ichimatsu, Emakimono, p. 3 and Kuan Te-tung, "Lüeh shuo 'pien' tzu ti lai-yüan," p. 2.

55. "Tun-huang Texts," p. 186. The French equivalents may be found in "Les débuts," p. 569: "les 'scènes,'" "les 'scènes'

littéraires," and "les 'scènes' figurées." Demiéville's remarks on this subject in his review article, "Manuscripts chinois de Touen-houang à Leningrad," p. 373n1, are also helpful: "Men'šikov ([Byan'ven' o Veimotsze,] p. 28, n. 50) incline à adopter l'interprétation de Soeun K'ai-ti: pien, '[événement] insolite, miraculeux,' qui me paraît très discutable; mes propres rechereches sur l'emploi de ce terme dans un certain nombre de contextes variés m'ont conduit à le traduire simplement par 'scene'. Je suis par contre d'accord pour reconnaître avec Men'šikov (pp. 23-24) que la forme de chantefable (prose et verse), qui devait connaître une telle fortune en Chine, est un emprunt à l'Inde à travers les traductions de textes bouddhiques."

56. Einführung, p. 76.

57. Bukkyō no bijutsu oyobi rekishi, pp. 866ff.

58. "Zokkō to henbun," pp. 427, 429.

59. "Hen to henbun," p. 224.

60. Cited in Hsiang Ta, "Kuan-yü su-chiang k'ao tsai shuo chi chü hua fu chi."

61. Chou I-liang, "Tun-huang pi-hua yü Fo-ching," p. 105.

62. Bukkyō daijiten, 5.4534c-4535a.

63. "Characteristic mark or distinguishing sign (nimittam or lakṣaṇa) made apparent through transformation."

64. "Tu pien-wen tsa-chih," TCC, pp. 61-64.

65. The Chinese Knight-Errant, pp. 100 and 210-211.

66. Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh fa-chan shih, vol. 2, "Pien-wen ti lai-yüan [The Origins of pien-wen]" 變文的來源, p. 395.

67. See T (2122) 53.530a-533a and 769a.

68. Sun erroneously cites a passage from the biography of Fan Sui 范雎傳 in the seventy-ninth fascicle of the Records of the Grand Historian. As Sun himself admits, 關東有何變? means no more than "What is going on (i.e., What event is there) east of the passes?" There need be no mention of "strangeness" in this case.

69. See my article on the ontological presuppositions of narrative in India and in China.

70. T (2060) 50.658a; cf. T (2064) 50.974c.

71. See, for example, the vocabularies in the backs of the individual volumes of James Legge's The Chinese Classics. The Great Chung Hwa Dictionary of Single Characters lists 28 meanings for pien, only two of which (numbers 8 and 13) may show some Buddhist influence and none of which are suitable as explanations for the pien of pien-wen or pien-hsiang. See Chung-hua ta tzu-tien, p. 2375.3-2376.1 (shen 213.3-214.1).

72. Joseph Needham, Science and Civilization, vol. 2, p. 220n7.

73. Peking: Chung Hwa Book Co., 1954.

74. (Candid Questions in the Inner Classic of the Yellow Sovereign) in I-pu ch'üan-lu 醫部全錄 ed. (Peking: People's Hygiene Press, 1956).

75. The Theoretical Foundations of Chinese Medicine, pp. 15-16.

76. Science and Civilization, vol. 2, pp. 74ff.

77. Z.D. Sung, ed., James Legge, tr., The Text of Yi King, p. 345.

78. Watson, tr., op. cit., pp. 195-196; Chinese text in A Concordance to Chuang Tzu, pp. 47-48 (18.41-46). Isabelle Robinet, "Metamorphosis and Deliverance," thoroughly documents my contention that the early Taoist concept of pien-hua presented no ontological discontinuities.

79. See, for example, Chu-tzu yü-lei, 75.9b (p. 3078): "To evolve is to begin gradually to change; the point at which there is division [i.e., when the evolving thing becomes something else — note Chu Hsi's use of ch'u as a sequence marker] is transformation." 化是漸漸移將去；截斷處便是變. Cf. P2940, a commentary on an unspecified Buddhist text by an unknown author, where the term pien-i 變易 is explained as follows: "pien means change, i means vary" 變者改變，易者移易. D48, an original Chinese Buddhist text on supreme bodhi or enlightenment (ta-chüeh 大覺), defines pien-hua as "the constant of heaven and earth" 變化者天地之常.

80. Chinese Popular Fiction in Two London Libraries, p. 20. Other scholars, including Nomura Yosho, "Tonkō henbun ni miru Daiba-bon no keitai," p. 308, have accepted pien as meaning essentially shen-pien; no one, to the best of my knowledge, has demonstrated this identification by reference to specific texts.

81. Transformation of Buddhism, pp. 25 and 252; Buddhism in China, pp. 287-290; "Filial Piety in Chinese Buddhism," p. 91. Quaritch Wales gives the same rendering in his The Indianization of China, p. 83.

82. "Pien-wen Chantefable," p. 256n5.

83. Preface to Basil Gray, Buddhist Cave Paintings, p. 14.

84. "Urban Centers," p. 262. Průšek may be relying here on the interpretation of Sun K'ai-ti, for which see above, p. 20f.

Earlier, however, Průšek followed Pelliot closely when he referred to pien-wen as "changed texts." See "The Narrators of Buddhist Scriptures," p. 378.

85. Tun-huang pien-wen hui-lu, p. x.

86. "Tu T'ang-tai su-chiang k'ao," pp. 381-383.

87. Tun-huang pien-wen hui-lu, preface, pp. x-xi.

88. "Kuan-yü p'o-mo pien-wen," p. 13.

89. BHS, p. 392b. Nakamura, Bukkyōgo daijiten, p. 1215b says that prātihārya (also written as 變化 or 變現 in Chinese) are transformational appearances. They are the miracles by which the Buddha ravishes the spirits of men in order to convert them.

90. BHS, p. 151.

91. Nakamura, p. 795bc and Mochizuki, pp. 2090b-2091a.

92. We should also bear in mind, when we discuss later the rapprochement of Buddhism and Manichaeism during the T'ang period and the possible effect this had on storytelling with pictures, that the Manichaeans borrowed heavily from Buddhist notions of transformational manifestation. See, for example, Chavannes and Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen," pp. 608, col. 3-11 and p. 553: "grâce à sa pénétration surnaturelle, produit par transformation la liberté d'être invisible on visible." 神通 [abhijñā] 變化隱現自在.

93. Tr. Sanghavara (?). T(2043)50.134b.

94. Ṛddhy(-abhisaṃskāra); anubhāva; prabhāva; abhijñāna.

95. Rāja-haṃsa.

96. "A Study of the Svāgata Story," HJAS, pp. 298-299, n233. Cf. Unrai Wogihara, Bodhisattvabhūmi, pp. 58-63 and T(1579)30.491c-493.

97. T(176)3.443c.

98. Cowell and Neil, ed., p. 192, l.8 and p. 313, l.15: "ācu prithagjanasya riddhir āvarjanakarī;" p. 133, l.9: "ācu prithagjanāvarjanakarī riddhir." Quoted by Ch'en, Chinese Transformation, p. 272.

99. T(262)9.60a.

100. T(2088)51.954c-955a.

101. Blofeld, Bodhisattva of Compassion, pp. 139-140.

102. Wang Chi-lan, Chung-kuo min-chien i-shu, pp. 196ff.

103. T(2040)50.65b. This text was written by Seng-yu 僧祐 (fl. 482-518). The same passage also speaks of "manifesting" (hsien 現) a "transformation" (pien) and Raudrākṣa is said to be good at "illusionism" (huan-shu 幻術). Another passage in the same text (T50.81c) says of a blind musician who played a stringed instrument that he possessed extraordinary ability as an entertainer 備六十四伎變弄殊絶. The mention of "sixty-four entertainer's transformations" indicates that, by the time of Seng-yu, pien had already acquired the meaning of "technique" or "trick."

104. T383.13 and 15, 386.16, 388.5, etc.

105. T(2122)53.592a.

106. This is a precise rendering of Sanskrit nir-√mā, "to make [manifest through] transformation." Nakamura, p. 1215c.

107. Prātihārya, "to [make] manifest through transformation."

108. Cave numbers (Pelliot system) 8, 138, 74, 63, 118, 52, 167, and 149. See J. Leroy Davidson, The Lotus Sutra in Chinese Art, p. 91 and plates 36-37.

109. MSI, vol. 3, fig. 245 (cave 2).

110. See Grousset, Chinese Art and Culture, p. 230. Altogether, Chin Wei-no ("Tun-huang pi-hua ch'i-yüan chi-t'u k'ao," p. 13) lists 19 different cave-walls at Tun-huang and in the surrounding area that depict these scenes.

111. S4257.2 is a list of happenings that were regularly included in depictions of the scenes where Śāriputra causes the wind to blow down Raudrākṣa's canopy. There are several errors in this list as it is printed by the editors of PekCat, p. 196: in the second, fourth, and sixth lines, 時 should come before the commas; in the fourth line, after 道 , the two characters 仙人 (ṛṣis) are missing; in the sixth line, the missing character is 風 ; and in the last line 入 ("[cause] to enter") sould be added after 水 .

112. T(191)3.968a.

113. Dhāranī or mantra.

114. Sapta ratna.

115. Vajra.

116. The garuḍa.

117. That is, with the knees, elbows, and head touching the ground.

118. 攝 → 躡 . 神足 stands for ṛddhipāda or ṛddhi-sākṣāt-kriyā.

119. Hsien-yü ching, T(202)4.420b.

120. Pp. 174-177 in the Gilgit ms. text as edited by Raniero Gnoli. Compare with the passage from the Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish translated above on pp. 32-34 which describes the same contest.

121. Cf. Edgerton, BHS, p. 302b.

122. See Mair, "Ontological Presuppositions."

123. Kern and Nanjio, ed., op. cit., p. 8. A line from Yüan Chen's (Collected Works, 13.6b) "Poem on Great Cloud Monastery" 大雲寺詩 reveals the close relationship between exposition of the sūtras and spiritual manifestation: "While listening to the sūtras, spirits appear;/ While reciting the gāthās, birds gather in great profusion."

124. T(263)9.63c.

125. Tr. Kato, op. cit., p. 34. Hurvitz's rendering (op. cit., p. 4) of Kumārajīva is "Now...the World-Honored One has shown these extraordinary signs...."

126. T(262)9.2b.

127. T(264)9.135c.

128. Kern, tr., op. cit., p. 263.

129. Kern and Nanjio, ed., op. cit., p. 276, line 6.

130. See Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, pp. 525bc and 568bc.

131. T(262)9.37a. The translation of Dharmagupta and Jñānagupta, T(264)9.171c, follows Kumārajīva verbatim.

Dharmarakṣa's earlier paraphrase, T(263)9.107b, is "do not gather in the same place with singers and actors" 不與歌樂遊戲衆會同處.

132. There is some question about the relationship between the first group of three characters and the second of six. I take it to be essentially genitive.

133. BHS, p. 289a.

134. Bendall, ed., op. cit., p. 126, lines 3-4; Bendall and Rouse, tr., op. cit., p. 125.

135. Yang Hsüan-chih, Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan chi chiao-chu, p. 271; Ch'ung-k'an Lo-yang ch'ieh-lan chi, 5.39b-40a; Iriya, tr., Rakuyō garan ki, p. 97ab; Jenner, tr., Memoirs of Loyang, p. 257.

136. The so-called "Demon of Havoc."

137. Wu Ch'eng-en, Hsi-yu chi, vol. 1, chapter 2, p. 22; Waley, tr., p. 30 (cited); Yu, tr., vol. 1, p. 97. Cf. also Wu, chapter 4, p. 43; Waley, p. 49; Yu, p. 128 and Wu, chapter 7, p. 71; Waley, p. 73; Yu, p. 169.

138. See chapter seven.

139. "Some Questions Connected with Tun-huang pien-wen," p. 222. Kanaoka, "On the Word 'Pien,'" p. 21, also seems to accept this identification. But his explanation that this has to do with something "changing itself" or being "transitory" is not convincing.

140. Ingalls, "Sanskrit Poetry," p. 11.

141. "Lüeh shuo 'pien' tzu ti lai-yüan," pp. 2-3.

142. A History of Chinese Drama, p. 11.

143. "Gakujutsu to bungaku," p. 246b-247a.

144. Shina bungaku gairon, p. 357.

145. It will be noticed that I have not spoken against Kuan's assertion of an exchange between the two labials p and m.

146. Such as I carry out in chapter seven of T'ang Transformation Texts. In chapters four and six below, I shall justify my assertion that pien may refer to pictorial representation.

147. See chapters 12 and 13 of my T'ang Transformation Texts.

148. Bhadramāyākāravyākaraṇa, p. 11.

149. See K'ai-yüan lu 開元錄 , T(2154)55.567c.

150. T(1451, ch. 17)24.283ab.

151. 神通 usually translates Sanskrit ṛddhi[-sampad; Tib. rdsu ḥphrul. See Nakamura, Bukkyōgo daijiten, p. 794b. For a most detailed explanation of what ta shen-pien is, see the section of the Ratnakūta which deals with its various types and subdivisions, T(310)11.492b-501b. Cf. also mahā-nimittaṃ-prāti-hāryaṃ 神變相 . Nakamura, Bukkyōgo daijiten, p. 795c.

152. See the volumes of the Gilgit manuscripts edited by Nalinaksha Dutt and Lokesh Chandra.

153. Derge text no. 6.

154. Dutt, Gilgit Manuscripts, vol. 3, part 2, p. iii and Vogel, The Teachings of the Six Heretics, p. 4. Vogel states that the terminus ante quem for the Gilgit manuscripts of the

Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya is based on the certain palaeographical evidence of their being written in Gupta characters of the sixth century. The terminus post quem is to be found on fol. 342a (see Dutt, Gilgit Manuscripts, vol. 3, part 1, p. 2.3) where the Kuṣāna King Kaniṣka (fl. 78-103?) is mentioned. Cf. Basham, Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka, pp. 432-435.

155. Vol. tha, p. 225b.3.

156. See Das, Tibetan-English Dictionary, p. 426b: ṛdsu-ḥphrul-gyi cho-ḥphrul [ṛddhiprātihārya] "magical and miraculous exhibitions," and Jäschke, Tibetan-English Dictionary, p. 161b: "magical trick; jugglery." (Cf. my discussion of śaubhika in chapter 9 of T'ang Transformation Texts.)

157. Derge, text no. 6, vol. tha, p. 225b.5. See Das, p. 1169b and Jäschke, pp. 524b-525a. On April 22, 1982, Masatoshi Nagatomi appreciably sharpened my understanding of the key word rabs by explaining that it can mean "succession, development, generation; membership in a family or category." Hence we may interpret dmyal-baḥai-rabs as "that which belongs to the hell category" or "that which belongs to the tradition of/about hell." Probably the most natural approximation in English would be "Account of Hell" (cf. a hypothetical Chinese 地獄傳).

158. "Tu T'ang-tai su-chiang k'ao," p. 382.

159. "Kuan-yü 'Su-chiang k'ao'."

160. "Tu T'ang-tai su-chiang k'ao," p. 382.

161. See especially chapter four.

162. Horner's note 3 says that "koṭṭhaka is a word of unsettled meaning." She cites the Cūḷavaggavaṇṇanā to the effect that this is a long house of seven stories with a

porch (or storehouse) at the gateway. See Samantapāsādikā, ed. Takakusu and Nagai, vol. 6, p. 1221.

163. Horner, tr., Book of Discipline, vol. 5, p. 223; Oldenburg, ed., op. cit., p. 159. Cf. the less elaborate description in The Jātaka, ed. Fausbøll, vol. 1, pp. 92-93; T.W. Rhys Davids, tr., Buddhist Birth Stories, vol. 1, pp. 131-132.

164. Barhut, vol. 1, pp. 92-93.

165. T(1442)23.811ab.

166. Cowell and Neil, ed., op. cit., pp. 300-301.

167. See chapter 9 of my T'ang Transformation Texts.

168. See chapter 10 of my T'ang Transformation Texts.

Notes to Chapter Three

1. "Zoku bungaku," pp. 102-103.

2. "Su-chiang yü pien-wen," p. 12.

3. T196-206.

4. By Patrick Hanan and others.

5. This appears to say "there have been no omissions in copying" or "there has been no plundering," but I have interpreted it as given in the translation because the manuscript itself is obviously not illustrated (i.e., it must be referring to a separate scroll or booklet) and because I think 略 liak may be a mistake for 錄 liwok.

6. See chapter four near the end.

7. By "documents" I mean deeds, loans, contracts, registers, lists of names of property, and so on.

8. As, for example, the narrative verses on Tung Yung (S2204; T109-113), the story in verse about Chi Pu (P3697 and other mss; T51-71), and so on.

9. Tun-huang ch'ü ch'u-t'an, p. 300.

10. See also Jen's preface, p. 3.

11. Approximately 180 texts if we count individual manuscripts rather than separate titles. Jen's ready acceptance of numerous verse forms would raise this number at least two or three times higher.

12. The number varies depending on whether one is willing to

count multiple copies of the same text as separate transformations.

13. For a list, see Kanaoka, "On the Word 'Pien.'" I touch on all of these in this chapter and in "Inventory."

14. For a discussion of this title, see below, pp. 113f.

15. Fully discussed in chapter four and in Tun-huang Popular Narratives, "Appendix."

16. For a discussion of these texts, see below, pp. 55-56

17. The character 物 ends one line and 成 begins the next. It is possible (though highly unlikely) that 成 is not part of the man's name as indicated by the T editors and my translation but that it refers to the completion of the copies.

18. Naturally, we would not expect that the antecedent oral performances could have been called pien-wen.

19. Catalogue, p. 248.

20. For a discussion of this concept, see chapter five in the vicinity of note 34.

21. Nidāna or hetupratyaya.

22. In the text (T768.15, T769.2) 后 (= 後) is missing. At T765.6, before the start of the story proper, there is reference to an "inner palace" 内宮 .

23. Nidāna or pratyaya

24. It is noteworthy that both appear verbatim in the Tun-huang manuscript collections of stories on filial piety (T902.6-10).

25. But compare the so-called "Tale of the Bombast of the Teacher of Teachers (?)" 師師謾語話 (on S4327) which does include some verse. The title, however, has been taken from within the text and does not stand at the beginning or end of the piece. See "Inventory," item 337.

26. See "Inventory," item 150.

27. On these anecdotes and their presumed relationship to the main story, see Eoyang's extensive discussion in "Word of Mouth," pp. 91-114.

28. The manuscript itself, however, does not stop here.

29. SH, p. 38.

30. See my discussion of one such title for the Wu Tzu-hsü story in "Inventory," item 241.

31. See Chiang Li-hung, Tun-huang pien-wen tzu-i t'ung-shih, pp. 177-178.

32. It is not certain whether this is meant to be construed as a title.

33. Three months?

34. Discussed in "Inventory."

35. The T editors (T344.2 and 355 n.1) incorrectly insert the character 神 after 變 .

36. See the discussion of this opening section in "Inventory," item 11.

37. Note that Tu Ying-t'ao's 杜穎陶 edition of the text in Tung Yung ch'en hsiang ho-chi 董永沉香合集 (Shanghai, 1957), pp. 5-7, has 揉將下 for 揲將 (T111.13).

38. The connection between transformations and pictures will be documented fully in chapters four and six.

39. The authors of the most recent history of Chinese fiction published in the People's Republic also rightly deny that the Wu Tzu-hsü story is a pien-wen. They refer to it, rather, as being in form, "closer to the early hua-pen 話本 ['story roots']." See Pei-ching ta-hsüeh Chung-wen hsi, Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo shih, p. 57.

40. Except T69.14, but see T83n1168.

41. It is instructive to compare these mislabeled "pien-wen" with P2999 which bears the title "Sūtra of the Crown Prince's Attainment of the Way, One Scroll" 太子成道經壹卷 (T296.11). The related text on S4626 is actually a seat-settling text (see T287.13, 301n1, 823, and 830).

42. Men'shikov, et al., Opisanie kitaiskikh, vol. 1, pp. 579-585 (nos. 1470-1482) and vol. 2, pp. 499-506 (nos. 2861-2872).

43. For a recent addition to the corpus, see "Inventory," item 599. It is also not impossible that future archeological discoveries might yield additional mss. More Buddhist texts were recently found in a tomb in Chiang-yin 江陰 county (near the Yangtze river), Kiangsu province. Preliminary reports (China Daily, 1.54 [August 13, 1981]) indicate, however, that these are mostly scriptures and date from the Northern Sung.

44. Yin-yüeh hsiang li-shih ch'iu cheng, p. 20.

45. Chinese Transformation, p. 252 and Buddhism in China, p. 288.

46. Chinese Transformation, p. 252.

47. History, p. 254.

48. Evolution, p. 23.

49. "Tun-huang pi-hua yü Fo-ching," p. 105.

50. Chūgoku no bungaku to reiyoku, p. 165.

51. See the following chapter.

52. Crump, "On Chinese Medieval Vernacular," pp. 69-70.

53. Also T697.5.

54. Cf. also T684.15 and 443.10.

55. The Emperor's Birthday, that is.

56. The Prajñāpāramītā-sūtra of the Benevolent King Who Protects His Country 仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經.

57. Ming-tsung 明宗 of the Later T'ang.

58. Tun-huang chüan-tzu, vol. 2, pp. 273a-277a, text no. 32.

59. "Annotated List," pp. 12-13. Pan first formally identifies it as a T'ang copy of the Yü-lan p'en ching 盂蘭盆經.

60. E.g., pp. 273b3, 274a7, and 274b10.

61. E.g., T412.7ff.

62. Pariśuddhi or viśuddhi.

63. P. 273a9a. I have not seen this name elsewhere that I can recall.

64. P. 276b8. For a discussion of and references to important scholarly opinions on this perennially difficult title, see my Tun-huang Popular Narratives, pp. [illegible]. A brief discussion is given by SH, pp. 274-275.

65. P. 277a1.

66. P. 273a9.

67. P. 273a11-12. Compare the transformation text verse introductory formula: "How should I explain it (literally, 'lay it out')?"

68. P. 273a5-6.

69. For self (arhat), for others (Bodhisattva), perfect enlightenment and accomplishment (Buddha).

70. P. 273b7-8. The reading of the last character is uncertain. It is a correction of 𠂉 which has been crossed out.

71. Buddha-putra.

72. Compare the more regular use of this refrain at the end of each quatrain in a seat-settling text (T829-830).

73. P. 274a9 and 12. I have tried to reproduce the essential features of the passage as they appear on the manuscript.

74. P. 276b4.

75. P. 275a10b. The characters in the smaller hand have been written very hurriedly.

76. The gatis which lead to the fiery hell, the bloody hells, and the hells full of swords.

77. P. 276b3.

78. If the proposed emendation is not accepted, perhaps we should understand "sit down [and]...."

79. The smaller characters are meant to replace the larger ones which someone, not surprisingly, must have thought made no sense. I am not certain that I have grasped the meaning of either of the two possibilities for the last line.

80. P. 275b5-6.

81. T461.1.

82. See Hsiang Ta's note 3 on T479. Monks from many Buddhist countries came to China to spread the dharma. For an example of one, see the poem (S4654v) by the famous Tun-huang cleric, Wu-chen 悟眞 , in which he mentions a monk from India who lectured on sūtras from the Triyāna 三乘 . Many of these foreign monks learned Chinese and gave their lectures in that language. Their limited fluency and partial literacy in Chinese made their task difficult, as did the various dialects they encountered.

83. Literally, "Ever since [He of] supreme bodhi opened the abstruse gate."

84. Literally, "By turning the wheel of the law (dharma-cakra) at Mṛgadāva and Gṛdhrakūṭa."

85. That is, "The major sects of Buddhism and their chief sūtras."

86. The four varga: bhikṣu, bhikṣunī, upāsaka, and upāsikā. The first two are actually monks and nuns, the second two are male and female devotees.

87. Literally, "gold[-covered] grounds." This is an allusion to the famous story of the purchase of Jetavana monastery.

88. Literally, "the burning house," from the parable in the Lotus Sūtra.

89. Karmāvaraṇa, the screen of karma which hinders the attainment of bodhi.

90. Buddhaphala.

91. Mahāsaṇgha.

92. T460.1-9.

93. T462.15.

94. T462.16.

95. T463.9-10.

96. Triśaraṇa or śaraṇa-gamana and pañca veramaṇī.

97. T464.3-4.

98. Dharmakāya.

99. Saṃbhoga-kāya.

100. The image derives from the iconographical tradition of a thousand-petalled lotus throne for Locana Buddha, each petal being a transformation of Śākyamuni.

101. Nirmāṇakāya.

102. T464.8-10.

103. T465.2.

104. Venus 金 , Jupiter 木 , Mercury 水 , Mars 火 , and Saturn 土 .

105. T'aishan 泰山 in the east; Hengshan 衡 in the south; Huashan 華 in the west; Heng-shan 恒 in the north; and Sungshan 嵩 in the center.

106. The metallic, the liqueous, the aqueous, the igneous, and the telluric. It is interesting to note that the five phases are identified particularly with Taoism.

107. Greatest Heavenly Emperor 太昊 , Flaming Emperor 炎帝 , the Yellow Emperor 黃帝 , Lesser Heavenly Emperor 少昊 , and Correct Concentrator 顓頊 .

108. T465.4. The commandments are against slaying, stealing, lusting, speaking lightly, and eating meat or drinking intoxicants.

109. T471.2-3.

110. Dharma-bhāṇaka or dharma-kathika.

111. T473.11-12.

112. T473.13. "Brahmanic language məu: [na/]d'iẹ: 毋[那 for] 陀 ['lump' or 'clod,' hence 'corpse' in Buddhist usage] [in] T'ang language is called b'iuət [Bud(dha)]." The speaker must have intended 毋馱 = 佛陀 . The faulty analysis of the word Amitā[bha] ("Boundless Light") on T474.6-7 is even more striking, but it is too involved to describe in detail here except to say that the participial ending of apramīta ("unbounded, unmeasured" from a-pra- /mā "not to measure, not to mete out") is said to mean "longevity!"

113. Han [founder, house] Kingdom → man [ruler] borders ←
Unlimited Life [Buddha] Kingdom

114. T475.9.

115. T475.11.

116. Aupapādaka or aupapāduka. There are four types of birth (catur-yoni): jarāyuja (viviparous); aṇḍaja (oviparous); saṃsuedaja (moisture-born); and a papādaka.

117. Literally, "Plum Appointee" (梅錄 [→ 祿]), the title of a T'ang military official for the northern reaches.

118. See note 116.

119. I do not feel that the emendation (男 → 更) suggested by Chou I-liang in T479n24 is necessary.

120. T475.13-15.

121. T476.3.

122. T670.12. At the end of several sections in this text, the lecturer mentions that it is late in the day (T659.6-7, 660.8-9, and 661.11-12).

123. P3128 and PK6780, see T298.9-10 and 315n211.

124. T657.3.

125. S2440, see T828.2-3. The phonemes in these passages which I have translated as "old lady" are a-p'o 阿婆 . It is conceivable that these two characters can stand for an entirely different person, i.e., "me" 阿僕 , an equation that was current in the T'ang period. However,

because of the context and because I have elsewhere seen 阿婆嗔 (as in these instances) used in a T'ang text to mean "the (old) wife gets angry," I have rendered the expression this way. See Chang Tsu, Ch'ao-yeh ch'ien-tsai, ts'e 1, 9b, line 10 and cf. 10a, line 17. Also see S4274v for the name 阿婆子 .

126. See the latter part of the next chapter.

127. It is still possible to document this process of stenographic technique in Taiwan now, although in a very different context, by observing the relationship between spirit medium (tâng-ki 童乩) and amanuensis who takes down his oracles or between the wielders of the planchette (fu-chi 扶箕 , also 扶乩 or 扶[飛]鸞) and the scribe who writes down entire scriptures on the spot from the scratchings of the chair-leg in the sand.

128. I refer, of course, only to those manuscripts with pronounced evidence of immediacy (see the next paragraph).

129. For a discussion of this concept, see chapter five.

130. See, for example, von Sydow, "Folktale Studies and Philology."

131. Data taken from the second and third grade homework of my son and his pals, written exercises of students in freshman English classes at Bhojpur College (Nepal) and Tunghai University (Taiwan), and notes from night janitors in several buildings where I have worked. Comparably literate segments of T'ang society were undoubtedly prone to similar difficulties with the written Chinese language.

132. The causal matrix which gives rise to events and things. See Shoson Miyamoto, "A Reappraisal of Pratītya-samutpāda," in Yamaguchi [Susumu] Hakushi kanreki kinen. From as early as the sixth century, prefaces to Buddhist

treatises were called yüan-ch'i or yin-yüan 因緣 (reason for writing). As a literary genre, it comes to mean approximately "legend [of a founder or saint, etc.]."

133. Tun-huang hsüeh kai-yao, p. 55.

134. T712.13.

135. T816.2.

136. T824.11.

137. See P3375v and two mss in the Shanghai Museum, one of which has marginal notations written in red.

138. See T813n1 and "Inventory," item 144.

139. Such references also often occur in T'ang poems.

140. See Naba Toshisada, "Shidda taishi shudō innen kaisetsu." Also see MS, vol. 1, p. 240c.

141. This same note occurs near the beginning of S3711v. I have also consulted this ms in making the translation.

142. Cf. T697.5.

143. T481.4-5; cf. T484.4. For other evidence of music in sūtra lectures, see T485.11, 15, and 16; 482.2 ("intone" 吟); 484.5 ("What follows is the singing of the sūtra" 此下唱經) and, by contrast, 483.6 ("What follows is to be spoken" 此下白道).

144. This is true, as well, to a lesser degree, of pentasyllabic, decasyllabic, and other lengths of verse. There is also the technique of intoning verse described by John Bishop in his "Prosodic Elements in T'ang Poetry," pp. 52-53: "...the prominence of the tonal pattern seems to have

led to a technique by which lyric poems were chanted, the emphasizing of the tone of each word producing a definite, though limited melodic line."

145. In the Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish 賢愚經, the story is called "Vajrā, the Daughter of King Prasenajit" 波斯匿王女金剛. All of these references are from T80lnl. Also see Lo Tsung-t'ao, Tun-huang chiang-ching pien-wen yen-chiu, pp. 322-332.

146. My translation of this term is an attempt to render the content of its meaning as explained by Hsiang Ta, "T'ang-tai su-chiang k'ao," p. 305. I do not, however, agree with Hsiang that a ya-tso-wen was meant to "adumbrate an entire scripture." See also Sun K'ai-ti, "T'ang-tai su-chiang kuei-fan," p. 52, who explains the term as meaning to settle (literally "press") in their seats all those in attendance. 押者即是鎮壓之壓，座即四座之座. Cf. Kanaoka Shōkō, "Ōza kō," and Kaji Tetsujō, "Zoku-bungaku," p. 119, who cites S4417 (an order of service for a popular lecture 俗講儀式): "Having spoken [the part] which settled them in their seats" 說押座了 .... Note the use of the quasi-perfective ending.

Notes to Chapter Four

1. For this part of the formula, see T90.4, 373.4, etc.

2. For the T'ang colloquial interrogative use of jo-wei, cf. Nakamura, Bukkyōgo daijiten, p. 1055a.

3. The bracketed parts of the question in Chinese, though not always supplied, are usually implied. I have given the known variations of the formula in the appendix to my Tun-huang Popular Narratives.

4. As is evident from the information presented in the previous chapter, attempts to discern a consistent distinction in T'ang usage of these two designations (pien and pien-wen), with regard to specific written texts from Tun-huang, are doomed to failure. It is obvious, however, that the first designation may also be used in reference to oral performances, artistic representations, and the epiphanies which serve as their inspiration, while the second designation can only be used in reference to a written text.

5. Kwang-chih Chang reported to me several years earlier that he had seen the same inscription.

6. On the north wall of the same cave, at the bottom of a panel showing events in the Buddha's life, there is an inscription that only superficially resembles the formulaic usage I have been describing: "In those foothills, [he] hunted for a level place." 於彼山麓間求平正處. Beyond it, there is another similar inscription: "Wishing to seek quiet, he suddenly saw a place." 欲求寂靜忽見處.

7. "Kegon engi no setsuwa," p. 20a. Kawaguchi refers to the wall-painting as a transformation tableau on the eight

aspects of achieving the way 八相成道變相 but I did not see this title during my visit.

8. Kuo Wei-ch'ü, Chung-kuo pan-hua shih-lüeh, p. 25.

9. In the collection of Baron Iwasaki Koyata 岩崎小彌太. See Matsumoto Yeiichi, "Hokekyō bijutsu — Hokekyō hensōhen," 428, Kokka (July 1926), 175-184.

10. Kadokawa shoten, ed., Kegon engi, pp. 48-59.

11. This use of the word tokoro in the Kegon engi emaki was first pointed out for students of popular literature by Kawaguchi Hisao, "Tonkō henbun no seikaku," p. 33. It was Barbara Ruch who referred me to Kawaguchi's article.

12. This scroll has been studied by Miya Tsugio, "Mokuren kyūbo setsuwa to sono eiga." My remarks here are based on a reading of his article and observation of the photographs that accompany it.

13. I have also noticed on the scroll mention of the fifth month of 1304.

14. In chapter eight and elsewhere, I show that there is a direct connection between pien-wen and p'ing-hua.

15. Suzuki Kei and Akiyama Terukazu, ed., Chūgoku bijitsu, vol. 1, pl. 12.

16. S5600, a booklet of explanatory notes on Buddhist terms, comments on pien, hua 化, and ch'u together.

17. See "Inventory," item 147.

18. Nihon daijiten kankō-kai, ed., Nihon kokugo daijiten vol. 14, p. 624d.

19. Chu-tzu yü-lei. For a discussion of related usages, see Gerty Kallgren, "Studies in Sung Time Colloquial Chinese," p. 43. Kallgren mentions that "Chu Hi often uses ch'u in these sense of «passage» (in a book or a demonstration...)."

20. The latest possible terminus ad quem is 800 I.E.; the terminus a quo is about the middle of the seventh century. See Bendall, ed., op. cit., pp. v-vi.

21. Both cited by Edgerton, BHS, p. 486b.

22. Bendall and Rouse, tr., op. cit., pp. 176.11 and 221. 30-31; Bendall, ed., op. cit., pp. 180.4 and 236.2-3; T(1636) 32.110c.25f and 122b.7ff.

23. Chuan is particularly noteworthy since it may refer to the style of delivery of the verse portion. For a discussion of this term in the context of pien storytelling, see pp. 344-34 (notes 35 and 40 to chapter six).

24. For a fuller analysis and translations, see the appendix to my Tun-huang Popular Narratives.

25. From Hsin-pien Wu-tai shih p'ing-hua, pp. 12-13, 21, 35, 20, 24, 123, 127, and 170.

26. Hirano Kenshō, "Beppon taishi jōdō henbun ni tsuite."

27. Ibid., pp. 44 and 54.

28. In cave 92 (Tun-huang Institute no. 85; dating from the late T'ang), I saw many cartouches ending in shih and, interspersed among them, a few ending in ch'u.

29. See chapter fifteen of my T'ang Transformations.

30. SH, p. 408b.

31. Hsieh Chih-liu, Tun-huang i-shu hsü-lu, p. 431b.

32. Other inscriptions ending in shih on Tun-huang wall-paintings listed by Hsieh Chih-liu, Tun-huang i-shu hsü-lu are: p. 103b, cave 47 east side, sixth inscription, T'ang period during the Tibetan occupation; p. 105a, same cave, west side, thirteenth inscription; p. 105b, same cave, north side, seventh inscription. I saw hundreds of this type of inscription during my visit to Tun-huang.

33. See Akiyama, "Tonkō ni okeru henbun to eiga," p. 439.

34. Ibid., pp. 444-445; also see Chin Wei-no, "Ch'i-yüan chi-t'u," pp. 34-35.

35. This is transposed to the beginning of the translations.

36. That is, an image of the Buddha. See Morohashi, vol. 11, 40152.624, which gives references to similar stories that are recorded in the dynastic histories.

37. Reading 大 宛 國 . Other possible reconstructions are ta Yüeh-chih 大 月 氏 (Indoscythia) and ta Hsia-kuo 大 夏 國 (Bactriana).

38. Hsieh Chih-liu, Tun-huang i-shu hsü-lu, p. 188b.

39. Recorded in Shih Yai, Tun-huang shih-shih hua-hsiang t'i-shih, p. 73ab.

40. This has been reproduced many times, most recently as pl. 61 in the Ts'ai-se Chung-hua ming-hua chi-lan. One of the earliest reproductions is Matsumoto, Tonkō-ga no kenkyū, LXXVIa. It is beautifully presented in Suzuki Kei and Akiyama Terukazu, Chūgoku bijutsu, pl. 70. See also ibid., pl. 71 for a ninth-century banner with four scenes and empty cartouches. Cf. Aurel Stein, The Thousand Buddhas, plates XII, XXVI, and XXX.

41. Cf. tasyāṃ velāyām.

42. Kumārarāja, the Buddha-to-be.

43. Hetupratyaya.

44. Ōtani Kōzui, Saiiki kōko zufu, vol. 1, pl. 45.3. Yūki Somei, Saiiki ga, vol. 13, no. 4 shows a Central Asian painting of an elephant that is most probably the one conjured up by Śāriputra in the "Transformation on the Subduing of Demons." The cartouches which describe the action thereon end with the temporal narrative sequence marker shih.

45. Cf. T301.7-8.

46. See Jao Tsung-i and Paul Demiéville, Airs de Touen-houang, pp. 29-30 (edited), 37 (comment), 128-132 (translated).

47. Barhut, 1, p. 47.

48. Barua, Barhut, 2, p. 27, Jātaka scene 45; pls. XXVIII.3 and LVIII in volume 3.

49. Ibid., p. 82, Jātaka scene 87; pl. XLVIII.2 in volume 3.

50. Ibid., p. 135, Jātaka scene 125; pl. XXVII.12 in volume 3.

51. In the illustrated Siwarātrikalpa of Mpu Tanakuṅ, ed. A Teeuw, et al., there are twenty scenes (Plate V, Series 1646, 49 — formerly in the possession of Mr. L. van der Wilk of Haarlem). Five of the accompanying superscriptions include the Balinese word for "place" (gnah [ipune] ?). This usage is not exactly the same as that of ch'u in Tun-huang pien-wen because it does not come at the end of a formula and also because it refers to an actual place in the scene depicted. Nevertheless, it does merit our consideration

since the poem has an Indian source and also for the more general reason that it shows the tendency for serial narrative pictures to use the word "place" (i.e., "locus") in inscriptions. Burmese narrative wall-paintings often bear inscriptions and legends beginning with the word wo ("this"), cf. Kubyaukkyi 210: "Here, the dragon king Kāla creates a likeness of the Buddha and shows it to King Dhammāsoka." Wo smiṅ kālanāgarāj nimit rup kyek taḅaḥ smiṅ dhammāsoka. Shorto, Dictionary of Mon, pp. 214-215. Note the use of nimit (= Pali nimmita, Sanskrit nirmita) meaning "conjure up, cause to appear, call into being, create, assume [shape], etc." This usage of wo calls to mind esa ("this") as used to designate sequential episodes in the picture storytelling scene of Dutavakyam, for which see chapter nine of T'ang Transformation Texts.

52. In the previous chapter.

53. This is the actual title on the manuscript, S2073.

54. Lili Ch'en, "Pien-wen Chantefable," p. 255n2 and Master Tung's Western Chamber Romance, p. ix.

55. Quoted in The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary, p. 1491.

56. Monier-Williams, p. 818a; Böhtlingk and Roth, vol. 5, p. 786a.

57. Cf. Das, Dictionary, p. 801.

58. Although this famous Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicon existed from approximately the ninth century, the Chinese equivalents were added at a much later period (eighteenth century?). Furthermore, they were based on the Tibetan rather than the Sanskrit and thus have no authenticity whatsoever for Chinese-Sanskrit Buddhist terminology. See Sakaki, introduction to the 1916 edition and Demiéville, p. 23 of Jao, Airs.

59. Sushilkumar De, History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 433.

60. Pai-hua wen-hsüeh shih, pp. 150-153 and 178. Both of Hu's two chapters entitled "Fo-chiao ti fan-i wen-hsüeh [Translated Literature of Buddhism (A and B)]" 佛教的翻譯文學 make worthwhile reading.

61. "P'i-p'an Hu Shih ti Pai-hua wen-hsüeh shih."

62. Is Lu thinking of tz'u and/or fu? On the writing of fu? Or the nebulous literary genre tz'u-fu? Or still tsa-fu 雜賦 ("miscellaneous fu")?

63. See note 40 of the next chapter for a discussion of this troublesome character.

64. "Kuan-yü pien-wen ti chi-tien t'an-so." Many of Ch'eng's same basic points are repeated by Chang Hsi-hou's recent Tun-huang Literature, pp. 66 and 83.

65. Ibid., p. 82.

66. Ibid., p. 83. Liao Fu-shui, Chung-kuo ku-tai yin-yüeh shih, p. 61, repeats much of the same argumentation. Of the specific "native sources" of the prosimetric form which he mentions, "Southeast-ward Flies the Peacock" 孔雀東南飛 has a prose preface while the remaineder is verse; Han and Wei stele inscriptions do not even remotely resemble extended fictional narrative; and the "Ch'eng-hsiang" 成相 chapter of Hsün-tzu as well as several fu written by him are even less deserving of serious consideration.

67. "Kuan-yü pien-wen ti chi-tien t'an-so," p. 86.

68. Ibid., p. 85.

69. Tun-huang-hsüeh kai-yao, p. 53.

70. Chung-kuo su-wen-hsüeh kai-lun, p. 94.

71. "Tun-huang chiang-ch'ang wen-hsüeh," p. 82. This recent article is the best study in Chinese of Tun-huang popular literature. Pointing out the need to distinguish clearly among the various genres of Tun-huang narrative, Chang's treatment is both critical and analytical. He sensibly asserts, for example, that there are only thirty-odd pien-wen, a refreshing revision of earlier estimates that ran into the hundreds and even thousands.

72. Liu Hsiang 劉向 (77-6 B.I.E.), Lieh-nü chuan 列女傳 (SPPY, vol. 1338), 1.4ab.

73. Pei-ching shih-fan ta-hsüeh Chung-wen hsi wu-shih-wu chi hsüeh-sheng, Chung-kuo min-chien wen-hsüeh shih, p. 313 (italics mine).

74. Ibid., pp. 313-314.

75. Ibid., p. 314.

76. Ibid., p. 314.

77. Ibid., p. 315.

78. Ch'a-t'u pen Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh shih, p. 448.

79. Chung-kuo su-wen-hsüeh shih, vol. 1, p. 191.

80. Ch'a-t'u pen Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh shih, p. 579.

81. Section four (pp. 275-293) of the title essay in HT.

82. Tun-huang pi-hua Fo-hsiang t'u yen-chiu, p. 29.

83. "The First Translations of Buddhist Sūtras in Chinese Literature," p. 114, also see p. 133.

84. See also Zdeněk Hrdlička, "The Origins of 'Narration Combined with Songs'" and Milena Velingerová, "The Art of Chinese Storytelling."

85. Ballad of the Hidden Dragon, p. 28.

86. "Indian Literature in China," p. 125.

87. The Home of the Puppet Play, pp. 14-15.

88. That poetry was more important in the early periods and that prose was added later has been posited by von Bradke, "Ueber das Mānava-Gṛhya-Sūtra," pp. 474ff. See also Oldenberg's two important studies, "Die altindischen Âkhyâna," and "Âkhyâna-Hymnen in Ṛigveda." It is remarkable that a similar situation seems to have obtained with regard to the early Greek epics. See Stephen Kelly's paper "Homeric Metrics and the Nature of Greek Proto-Epic," epitome: "The Higher levels of correption (a so-called license of Greek metrics) found in the speeches of the Iliad and the Odyssey reveal that the speeches in the Homeric poems are of greater antiquity than the narrative, and that Greek proto-epic consisted of versified speeches and an interstitial prose narrative." The prosimetric form is also to be found in other literatures, for which see H.M. and N.K. Chadwick, The Growth of Literature, vol. 3, p. 716. But nowhere in the world is it so pervasive or typical as it is in the Indian tradition.

89. "Original Nature of Jātakas," The groundwork for De's study was laid by Oldenberg in his "The Prose-and-Verse Type of Narrative and the Jātakas."

90. Pre-Buddhist India, p. xxi. This sequence of development is borne out by the Sinhalese tradition which "asserts that during the process of translation into the Old Sinhalese language and retranslation into Pāli of the Jātakaṭṭhakathā, it was only the prose which was open to this process, the Gāthās were preserved unchanged in Pāli." These canonical

texts were transmitted orally until the time of the Sinhalese king Vaṭṭagāmaṇī (first century B.C.E.) when they were first written down.

91. Ibid., p. xxii.

92. See, for example, the annotations to my Tun-huang Popular Narratives, M[illegible].

93. Tonkō no bungaku, p. 196. A large number of the manuscripts found at Tun-huang consist of or include drawings, and many of these have strong narrative characteristics. See, for example, P2002, 2003, 2010, 4513, 2013, 2544v, 2564v, 2598v, 2671v, 2682, 2683, 2695, 2702v, 2723v, 2868v, 2869v, 2870, 2993v, 2998, 3059, 3614, 3652v, 3666, 3882v, 3951, 4100, 4513, 4514a, 4517, 4518b, 4518.4, 4523, 4524, 4757, 4886, 5019, 6001, PTib.1293v, S259v, 705, 1360v, 1586v, 1918v, 3961, 5407v, 5429v, 5638, 5655, 6983, 5642, S-Uighur frag. OR 12452.3 [Kao 0111], Pk5883v, 3905, 1863, 883, 6110v, 685v, San621v, and D1277.

94. For a lengthy discussion of an important inscription on this manuscript, see "Inventory," item 207.

95. These illustrations are described in full detail by Vandier-Nicolas, Śāriputra, pp. 17-32.

96. For a discussion of this contest, see Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels, vol. 1, pp. 394-395.

97. See Akiyama Terukazu, "Miroku Kashōkyōhen hakubyō funbon," p. 70. The carouches in cave 92 (Tun-huang Institute no. 85) are similar.

98. See my translation in Tun-huang Popular Narratives.

99. Mu-lien chiu-mu ch'üan-shan hsi-wen by Cheng Chih-chen.

100. An attendant.

101. Nakanokimi's sister-in-law.

102. Nakanokimi's dead sister.

103. Murasaki Shikibu, op. cit., tr. Seidensticker, p. 958.

104. For detailed photographs of this scene, see Kadokawa shoten hensūbu, ed., Genji monogatari emaki, last color plate and pl. 37 (enlarged); Akiyama Terukazu, ed., ibid.; Akiyama Terukazu, Heian jidai seizokuga no kenkyū, pl. 44r and pl. 51; Hideo Okudaira, Narrative Picture Scrolls, fig. 9 (p. 26).

105. The meaning of 寶 (pâu:) 護 is not certain. The PK catalog editors, p. 279, indicate that it may be the name of the copyist. The back of the scroll, however, would be an unusual place to find such a notation. My impression is that it means something like what is given in the translation or, perhaps, ⟶ 保 (pau:) 護 "protect/take care [of this]." It is also possible that it might be the name of the owner of the scroll.

106. See "Inventory," item 555.

107. Strassberg's recent analysis ("Buddhist Storytelling Texts from Tun-huang," pp. 59-60), tends to confirm my suppositions. In their catalogs, both Giles (p. 198) and Kanaoka (p. 14) suggest that the standing figure at the beginning of S5511 (the opening section of the Śāriputra pien-wen) is a warrior with a sword and that this ink-sketch may be an illustration for the text.

108. As was done in medieval Italy (see chapter thirteen of T'ang Transformations).

109. Pelliot, Les grottes, pl. CXXI. There are a number of other interesting features in this cave relating to sūtra lectures and so forth. On the left wall at the front are several platforms 高座 on which men are sitting and lecturing (pl. CXVIII). On the left part of the left wall a man is seated reading from a scroll which he is holding up. At the top right, just below the ceiling, is a multiple-sided structure. Does the front panel of this structure represent a picture of a man or does it represent the man himself? (pl. CXIX). And what is the object held by the strange man at the bottom right of the second section of the left wall? (pl. CXX).

Notes to Chapter Five

1. See my T'ang Transformation Texts, chapters eleven, twelve, and thirteen.

2. "Medieval Jongleurs," p. 286.

3. Analects, p. 51.

4. "Professional Training of Storytellers," p. 226.

5. [Original note] Karim stated that occasionally, for the benefit of illiterate pupils, he draws sketches of various incidents in the repertoire to which the pupils may refer. Hussein (Pedu, Kedah) possesses a book of similar sketches but in his case the drawings are explained with captions in Thai.

6. [Original note] Hamzah copied part of Awang Lah's repertoire from my transcript of the latter's narration, but this is not the usual practice!

7. The Ramayana and the Malay Shadow-Play, pp. 52-53; italics mine.

8. "Puppet Play," p. 189.

9. Kuan Chün-che, Pei-ching p'i-ying-hsi, p. 14.

10. Information in this paragraph gleaned from a lecture given before the Oriental Club of Philadelphia on April 30, 1982 by Wolfram Eberhard who has carried out extensive field work on this subject in Taiwan.

11. The various categories of Indonesian drama (including picture storytelling, shadow plays, and puppet plays) are discussed in chapter eleven of my T'ang Transformation Texts.

12. Literature of Java, vol. 1, p. 248.

13. Ensink, "On the Old-Javanese Cantakaparwa," section 16, has also written on the reluctance of dalangs to commit their texts to writing. He, too, mentions the instigative role of Western scholars in causing this to happen in some cases.

14. "Shuo-shu yu-wu chiao-pen?"

15. Ibid.

16. The Way of the Storyteller, p. 59. Amin Sweeney, in his "Professional Malay Story-telling," points out the qualitative difference between storytelling (folk or oral literature) and the literary texts that derive from it. The scribe nearly always adapts what he records.

17. In "Lay Students and the Making of Written Vernacular Narrative," I have tried to show some of the reasons why they were recorded. See also the latter part of this chapter. Chapter seven discusses the probable causes of their disappearance.

18. "Peking Drumsinging," pp. 23 and 250n11.

19. I am not, of course, necessarily making the case that the transcribers of transformation texts were entrepreneurs. My point is only that, where there was a demand for transcription, it could be done without the permission of performers.

20. The Home of the Puppet-Play, pp. 15-16.

21. Joshi, Painted Folklore, p. 16.

22. "Medieval Jongleurs," p. 304. For the meaning of etoki and Kumano bikuni, see chapter thirteen of my T'ang Transformation Texts.

23. "Vorgeschichte."

24. Bazaar Paintings of Calcutta. For the meaning of Bänkelsänger and paṭuā, see chapters twelve and thirteen

of T'ang Transformation Texts.

25. Published by Lo Chen-yü, 1.1; 1.2,3; and ch. 3, last page (p. 72).

26. See also C.T. Lo, "Clues Leading to the Discovery of Hsi Yu Chi p'ing-hua," pp. 180-181, especially 180n9.

27. "New Studies," pp. 454-455.

28. Shui-tung jih-chi, 21.11b-12a.

29. I have relied chiefly on Marshall Pihl, "The Tale of Sim Ch'ŏng," for the information in this paragraph.

30. Personal communication from Masato Nishimura, December 8, 1978; old film shown by Holmes Welch at Harvard Univeristy, December 6, 1978. Blindness has been a traditional characteristic of performers of many other oral genres, not just in East Asia.

31. By the same token, Jen Er-pei (Tun-huang ch'ü ch'u-t'an, p. 121) concluded that the Tun-huang cantos must have been transcribed from oral presentation. Cf. note 38.

32. This is not the same as taking down a text from dictation 筆受 (see T50[2061].813c, 1.3). Here the reader or speaker will go as slowly as transcriber requires. It is also not the same as the transcription of a ritualistic oral text where the utterance of a single word may be drawn out to enormous lengths and repeated many times.

33. "Sung and Yüan Vernacular Fiction," The Chinese Short Story, etc.

34. E.g., "The Early Chinese Short Story: A Critical Theory in Outline," p. 171.

35. "The Nature of Ling Meng-ch'u's Fiction," p. 87.

36. Eoyang has attempted to demonstrate this in his

recent article entitled "Oral Narration in the Pien and Pien-wen." By "spoken literature," I mean texts that had their origins in the oral realm; by "written literature," I intend texts that were initially created on paper.

37. See chapter thirteen of T'ang Transformation Texts.

38. But see my discussion above (in chapter three) on the possibility of phonetic error apart from any oral setting. It is a question of the prominence and frequency of such error.

39. Eoyang, "Word of Mouth," p. 52.

40. Kǎm. This is the reading suggested by the editors of the Paris catalog, pp. 198-199. It is interchangeable with 椷, which is another conceivable reading. Both of these characters might be construed in the sense of "one letter." But it is difficult to understand either character in the sense of "one unit of verse." Ōta, Kōgobun, p. 139, suggests 減 and Kanaoka, Tonkō...bungaku...mokuroku, p. 21, suggests 椷 but I cannot make sense of either of these readings. The character as written on the manuscript appears thus: 𢍏 . In any event, the syntax demands some such numerary adjunct as 件 which was already in use before the period when pien-wen were written down. It is not likely, however, that 件 itself could have been exchanged for the difficult character because it is not in the same rhyme group as either of the proposed readings which seem to make sense.

41. For a part of the text that has been well annotated, see Ōta, Kōgobun, pp. 138-149. P2319 has been translated by Eugene Eoyang in Ma and Lau, ed., Traditional Chinese Stories, pp. 443-455.

42. The question of the relationship of written pien-wen to pictures is also discussed in chapter four.

43. See "Inventory," item 18.

44. Catalogue, pp. 212-213.

45. I.e., the four varga: Bhikṣu and bhikṣuṇī, upāsaka and upāsikā, monks and nuns, male and female devotees; i.e., all the Buddhist faithful.

46. PekCat, p. 254. Cf. Bibliothèque Nationale, Catalogue des Manuscripts Chinois de Touen-houang, p. 39, and Jen, Tun-huang ch'ü chiao-lu, pp. 140-162. See "Inventory," item 4 for an alternative interpretation of the last sentence.

47. Hsü Kuo-lin, Tun-huang shih-shih hsieh-ching t'i-chi, AA.19a. This manuscript was not available for examination when I visited Peking in the summer of 1981.

48. See "Inventory," item 590. The "Inventory" provides a great deal of evidence regarding the copying activities of lay students at Tun-huang.

49. The intercalary month in the designated year fell after the seventh month. The western equivalent is computed on the assumption that this was the month intended and not the sixth month as written.

50. Kanaoka (Tonkō bungaku mokuroku, p. 250n7) reads this quite differently: ... 楊顯，受一人思，微発 .... Hence, "Yang Hsien, the thought having been suggested by (received from?) someone, secretly (?) made...." Admittedly, this colophon presents problems, but Kanaoka's reading seems to complicate them. 發願作福 reads smoothly as a unit and resists being connected to the 微 . As for 顯 rather than 願 in the man's name, the manuscript has 願 which speaks for itself. The copyist's name is therefore either Yang Yüan or Yang Yüan-shou depending on how one punctuates the colophon. The matter is somewhat exacerbated by the fact that, for 微 , the manuscript

has 嵔 . If this character was meant to stand for 徽 xjwei, perhaps we should read 恩 惠 γiwei- in which case the translation would be "Yang Yüan, receiving the favor of a certain person...." However, my preference is as given in the translation, particularly since I have a suspicion that, by 思 微 (jwi), the copyist must have meant 思 惟 (mjwei) which is a very common Buddhist expression (Skt. cetanā) for "reflection," "thought," and so on. See "Inventory," items 385 and 555 for positive identification of Yang Yüan-shou.

51. The ms has 佛 .

52. Where T755.6 has 生 作 , Hsü Kuo-lin, Tun-huang tsa-lu, 40a.12 inexplicably gives 王 . Neither reading is satisfactory but I have been unable to come up with a better one.

53. The ms has 壹 . The translation of this sentence is not certain.

54. The future Buddha.

55. Literally, "living beings" (sattva).

56. 信 心 Adhyāśaya.

57. 願 力 praṇidhāna-balika (or bala).

58. Tsa-lu 40b.1 inexplicably has 之 for 三 .

59. Gati.

60. Giles, Catalogue, p. 259.

61. The transcriber or copyist of the story in verse (S5441) about Chi Pu 季 布 railing in front of the troops, who has the striking name Yin Nu-er ("Slaveboy Yin") 陰 奴 兒 , is

designated by a similar title, "Lay Student of Recording Officer Fan 氾孔目學仕郎 . A recording officer with this surname is mentioned on P3757 and P2633.2. See Giles, Catalogue, p. 234b. The inscription at the end of S5441 is dated in accordance with May 19, 978.

62. For a fuller description of this manuscript and its inscriptions, see "Inventory," item 590.

63. Rotours, Fonctionnaires, pp. 198, 567.

64. Cf. Kanaoka, Tonkō no minshū, p. 173.

65. The translation is from Giles, Catalogue, p. 234. Also see his "A Chinese Topographical Text" and Naba, "Zokkō to henbun," p. 451.

66. There are other conceivable interpretations of this brief inscription but most are compatible with the notion that a monk was responsible for making this copy.

67. Translation by Giles, Catalogue, p. 138. Also see T314-315n205.

68. 賜紫 Cf. Reischauer, tr., Ennin's Diary, p. 298 n1131. The manuscript has space for two characters which, it may be surmised, would most likely be 沙門 Śramaṇa. The last three characters (雲辯述 "narrated by Yün-pien"), however, appear to have been added in a different hand using lighter ink.

69. Cf. Reischauer, tr., Ennin's Diary, p. 75 ("Archbishop") and n317 on that page.

70. See S4472.3 which is his will. The exact date, given by a certain Li Yüan 李瑗 in a note of 954, is in accordance with July 24, 951.

71. See T839.4. Yün-pien is not to be confused with the "Yüan-chien of Great Virtue, Commissioned by the Emperor to Oversee the Inner Circle of Truth (Bodhimaṇḍala) of the Ch'ien-fu ('Thousand Blessings') Monastery on the Right Side of the Thoroughfare" who is mentioned in fascicle one of P3886 as the author of a pentasyllabic poem. The latter Yüan-chien would have lived approximately one hundred years before Yün-pien. See Reischauer, tr., Ennin's Diary, pp. 289 and 311.

72. The one and one-quarter lines of prose which the T editors have printed on page 840 have no necessary relationship to the seat-settling text. On the manuscript, the title is placed just before the seat-settling text which consists of twenty-seven lines of verse. This is directly followed on the same scroll by the "Seat-Settling Text on the Twenty-four Examplars of Filiality." These two exhortations are separated by a heavy, crudely drawn line which stands out clearly as a later addition to the manuscript.

73. Fuller coverage may be found in "Inventory."

74. Other manuscripts of popular literature from Tun-huang which were transcribed or bear inscriptions by such lay students include the "Rhapsody on Swallows" 鷰子賦 (S214, dated in accordance with January 29, 924) by Tu Yu-sui of Eternal Tranquility Monastery 永安寺學士郎杜友遂.

75. There are, however, isolated instances in which the authors of other types of Tun-huang popular literature are known, such as Wang Fu, who was a graduate in the Third Provincial Examination 鄉貢進士王敷 and who was responsible for the clever "Discussion between Tea and Wine" 茶酒論 (P2718, dated in accordance with February 1, 972; K'ai-pao ["Opening of Treasures"] 3 is undoubtedly a mistake for K'ai-pao 5 because the latter year has the cyclical designation jen-shen given in the colophon). The copyist, Yen Hai-chen, was enrolled in an academy 知術院弟子閻海眞.

76. Other inscribed manuscripts taken into account include P3210, P3757, P2633.2, S610, S548, S2491, S1156v, and a lecture on the Vimalakīrtī sūtra in the Russian holdings.

77. Ballads and Stories, p. 239.

78. Ming-sha shih-shih i-shu, 1.18a.

79. A number of lists (S2614, S2669, S6542) have been published in Chung-kuo k'o-hsüeh-yüan, Tun-huang tzu-liao, vol. 1, pp. 225-282. An important study of these registers may be found in Fujieda Akira, "Tonkō no sōniseki."

80. Māra-bhañjaka or māra-pratyarthika.

81. The description of blowing upon a frozen brush to soften and warm its bristles is reminiscent of the scene in Liu E's 劉鶚 The Travels of Old Derelict (Lao-ts'an yu-chi 老殘遊記) where we find the following: "Ts'ui-huan, afraid that the ink on the slab would freeze, blew without stopping, but the brush still picked up bits of ice and the more Lao Ts'an wrote the thicker the tip became." See Liu T'ieh-yün, The Travels of Lao Ts'an, tr. Shadick, p. 140.

82. T355.10-11. Fa-lü (Dharma and Vinaya) identifies Yüan-jung as an ecclesiastical official under the regional saṅgha administrator 僧政.

83. On the manuscript it would appear that there has been an effort to blot out these two characters, which fact in itself might lead to several interesting speculations.

84. T446.14-15.

85. T389.10.

86. Parts of the Wu Tzu-hsü story indicate that the author(s)

or scribe(s) made reference to encyclopedic accounts of the hero. One such source discovered at Tun-huang is S2072.

87. Kanaoka, Tonkō no bungaku, p. 181, indicates that there are four missing characters after nien 年 , undoubtedly a cyclical designation of the year.

88. Kanaoka, ibid., loc. cit., has Hsi-chou 𠂤州 instead of Hsi-ch'uan 西川 . If we accept the former reading as the correct one, the area referred to would be that of the Turfan in modern Sinkiang.

89. This character (愔) is somewhat difficult to decipher but well within the range of Tun-huang orthographical variants for ying 應 ("responsive"). Kanaoka (Mokuroku, p. 4) holds that we should read Su宿("past"). Strassberg, "Buddhist Story-telling Texts from Tun-huang," p. 47, states that both colophons are in the same calligraphic hand as the main text but that the second is in a lighter, more watery ink on a succeeding sheet of paper. Cf. "Inventory," item 15.

90. T618.12-14.

91. 因緣 hetupratyaya or nidāna. This title is actually on S3491.

92. The story is not original with the author of this particular version since it occurs in the Chuan-chi pai yüan ching [Compilation of the Sūtra of the Hundred Occasions] 撰集百緣經 , fascicle 6 (T[200]4.229c-230b).

93. I.e., Buddhists.

94. By 論典 "corpus of discussions," Pao-hsüan probably meant 論藏 , that is, the Abhidharma-piṭaka.

95. 緝 in the sense of 輯 .

96. 緣 pratyaya.

97. 三界 trailokya or triloka.

98. Another manuscript of the same piece, formerly owned by Lo Chen-yü and entrusted to the Shanghai Committee for the Preservation of Cultural Artifacts, has "sixth" which would yield a date equivalent to June 28, 955(?).

99. This is a practice which has its roots in early Indian educational systems. See Radhakumud Mookerji, "Hindu Educational Systems," The Cultural Heritage of India, III, 247. See also R.K. Mookerji, Ancient Indian Education (Brahmanical and Buddhist) and S. Dutt, Buddhist Monks and Monasteries.

100. Takakusu, tr., A Record of the Buddhist Religion, p. 106.

101. The Buddhist Conquest, vol. 1, p. 9.

102. Yen Keng-wang, "T'ang-jen hsi-yeh shan-lin ssu-yüan chih feng-shang," p. 414.

103. Ibid., pp. 374-5 and Yen Keng-wang, T'ang-shih yen-chiu ts'ung-kao, preface, p. 3.

104. See, for example, the colophons and signatures on P2609v, P2621, P2633v, P2712, P3189, P3381, P3393, P3466v, P3649, P3691v, and P3698v. Culled from Naba, "To shōhon zasshō ko."

105. At some position in his career, however, Chang I-ch'ao did become a declared adherent of the Buddhist faith. S5835 is a short explanatinn of the Śālistambhaka-sūtra 佛說大乘稻芊經 which was "copied by the Buddhist disciple of pure faith (upāsaka) Chang I-ch'ao." 清信佛弟子張義朝書. It is Giles' opinion (Catalogue, p. 173) that, at this time, he was probably a lay pupil in the monastery. I suspect that he became an upāsaka when he ceased

being a lay student.

106. He is mentioned in fascicle 216B of the New T'ang History (KM 4139.2) and in fascicle 490 of the Sung History (KM 5719.1). See also TCTC, vol. 4, 249.8048-8049.

107. "Pu T'ang-shu Chang I-ch'ao chuan."

108. "Lo Shu-yen 'Pu T'ang-shu Chang I-ch'ao chuan' pu-cheng." See also Hamilton, Ouighours, pp. 12-15, 38n1, and the lengthy note on pp. 47-49.

109. For descriptions of this manuscript, see Giles, Catalogue, pp. 233-234 and Kanaoka, Tonkō mokuroku, p. 22.

110. Demiéville, Concile, p. 168.

111. The fullest and best account of this army and its governors may be found in A. Huzieda, "Sashū kigigun setsudoshi shimatsu."

112. Demiéville, Concile, p. 168n.

113. The title is taken from an inscription in cave 281 (Pelliot no. 80) by his nephew Chang Huai-shen (d. 890) to whom he had entrusted the administration of the Ho-hsi region when he went to Ch'ang-an. Though Chang I-ch'ao's fiefdom was of the rank of 10,000 households, it was nominally composed of 2,000 households and in actuality consisted only of 200 households 食邑二千戶實封二百戶. See Hsiang Ta, "Amendements," pp. 7 and 16.

114. T(2061)50.743b.

115. Only the preface survives (on P3554v). For the text, translation, and notes, see Chen Tsu-lung, La vie et les oeuvres, pp. 101-109. For other references to Chang I-ch'ao on Tun-huang manuscripts which attest to his strong

of Buddhism, see NT, pp. 38-39, and Men'shikov, Opisanie, vol. 1, pp. 319-320 (no. 823, D566).

116. A helpful study of this subject is Ogawa Kan'ichi's "Tonkō butsuji no gakushirō," which is based both on Tun-huang manuscripts and standard historical sources.

117. B.A. Litvinsky, "Outline History of Buddhism in Central Asia," Kushan Studies in U.S.S.R., pp. 128-130.

118. Naba Toshisada, "Tō shōhon zasshō ko,"

119. Hui-shan Monastery is in Kiangsu province, five li west of Wu-hsi 無錫 district town.

120. From the preface by Li Chih to the poem which he inscribed at Hui-shan Monastery ("Li Chih t'i Hui-shan ssu shih hsü 李贄題惠山寺詩序") in CTW, 724.11b (p. 9438a).

121. Monks, nuns, nun-candidates, together with male and female novices.

122. Anitya.

123. Kṣama.

124. Note that here and at the beginning of each succeeding sentence the conjunction in Chinese is 若為 which, in the pre-verse formula of the transformation texts, has an interrogative function.

125. Gṛhapati, "householder."

126. T(2059)50.417c. For a discussion of the social and educational significance of the evangelistic activities of Buddhist monks and preachers during the T'ang period, see Michihata, Tōdai Bukkyō shi no kenkyū, pp. 210-270.

127. PekCat, p. 161. Punctuated texts are not uncommon in the Tun-huang manuscripts. For another, see S4510v.

128. Note the use of the personal pronoun 余 .

129. This is not a literal translation. I have had to rely on examination of the manuscript to make some sense of this sentence.

130. By?

131. See "Inventory," items 251 and 590.

132. The recto of this scroll is a portion of fascicle 233 of the Mahāprājñāpāramitā sūtra.

133. Wang Fan-chih's dates are c. 590-660.

134. Ma Shih-ch'ang, "Kuan-yü Tun-huang ts'ang ching tung," plate 4.2.

135. Translated from Jean Sauvaget's French version, Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde, p. 17 §36 and p. 21 §48. See also p. 58n36. Evelyn Rawski has recently shown (Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China) that, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there was surprisingly widespread "functional" literacy (though of varying degrees) among the male populace, both in the cities and in the countryside.

136. Among many others, scholars who subscribe to this view include: Ogawa Tamaki, "Henbun to kōshi," p. 128; Kanda Kiichiro, Tonkō-gaku gojūnen, p. 69; Hsü Chia-ling, "Wo tui pien-wen ti chi-tien ch'u-pu jen-shih"; Li Hui-ying (following Hsiang Ta in the preface to T [pp. 1 and 3]), Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo shih, p. 117; Shao Hung, Tun-huang shih-shih chiang-ching-wen yen-chiu, p. 8; Pei-ching ta-hsüeh chung-wen hsi (1955), Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh shih, p. 217;

Ch'iu Chen-ching, Tun-huang pien-wen shu-lun, p. 9; Hu Shih-ying, "T'ang-tai ti shuo-hua"; and Ch'eng I-chung, "Lüeh-t'an Sung Yüan chiang-shih ti yüan-yüan." Kenneth Ch'en (Chinese Transformation, p. 252) even goes so far as to declare that "All agree that the pien-wen was composed primarily to serve as texts for the popular lectures." I, for one, do not.

137. Ho-shang 和尚 ("monk").

138. The music schools, that is.

139. Yin-hua lu, ch. 4, pp. 94-95.

140. Yüeh-fu tsa-lu, no. 1, p. 40. Consult also the annotated translation of the thirty-fifth chapter by Gimm, pp. 500-507.

141. Paintings of figures with eyes that seemed to follow the beholder were not at all uncommon. At the Great Cloud Temple 大雲寺 in Ch'ang-an, there was "an averter of evil [demon-quelling deity, probably Chung K'uei 鍾馗], the two eyes of which turn and glare at one wherever one moves 雙目隨人轉盼" (Acker, tr., op. cit., pp. 299-300). And at the Prospect Publican Temple 景公寺, there were "paintings of circumambulating monks who turn their eyes to look at people 畫行僧轉目視人" (Acker, p. 270).

142. Acker, tr., op. cit., p. 268.

143. See chapter seven of my T'ang Transformation Texts.

144. Quoted by Acker, p. 268n3.

145. Op. cit., pp. 298-299. See also the very full annotations on this passage given by Ono in his Nittō guhō junrei gyōki no kenkyū, vol. 3, pp. 343-345n4 and 348n14.

146. Li Fang, comp., T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi, ch. 204, p. 1546; Wang Cho, Pi-chi man-chih, ch. 5, p. 91. There are a few minor differences between the two accounts but they are essentially the same.

147. Yüeh-fu tsa-lu, ch. 35 (also note 140 above).

148. For other views on the subject, see Ono Katsutoshi, "Bunjo to Bunshuku," and Kanaoka Shōkō, "Sairon Bunjo hōshi." Perhaps Wen-shu, who relied on audiences for a living, modelled his name after Wen-hsü's because of the latter's popularity and prestige (suggested by Andrew Jones).

149. Kanaoka Shōkō, Tonkō no minshū, p. 99 offers a combined chronological sketch covering the years c. 820-841.

150. TCTC, ch. 243, p. 7850.

151. T(2035)49.384c. Cf. Jan Yün-hua, tr. and annot., Fo-tsu t'ung-chi, p. 89. In note 15 of pp. 89-90, Jan states that there is no biography of Wen-hsü in the Sung Biographies of Eminent Monks or other historical records. He also follows Hsiang Ta, "T'ang-tai su-chiang k'ao," in claiming that Wen-hsü was important for the development of pien-wen.

152. "Chū Tō jidai zokkō sō Bunjo hōshi."

153. Stephen West has told me of a number of references from Chinese historical and literary sources to entertainers posing as monks and nuns. He also mentioned the commonplace nature of secular performances being carried out in proximity to temples.

154. In the introduction to Nagendra Nath Vasu, The Modern Buddhism, p. 17.

155. The majority of literary references to transformation performers that I cite in chapter six describe them as entertainers rather than as monks.

156. "Notes sur l'ancienne littérature," p. 192. See "Inventory," item 559, for a very different interpretation of PK2496v.

157. "Magic and Religion in Sinhalese Society," p. 98.

158. T(2060)50.602c. See Fukui Fumimasa (Bunga), "Tōdai zokkō-shiki."

159. Translated by Chen Tsu-lung, La vie et les oeuvres, pp. 58-60.

160. Translated by Chen Tsu-lung, ibid., pp. 61-65.

161. See Bush and Mair, "Some Buddhist Portraits and Images," pp. 33-34 and p. 49n1-10.

162. T(1805)40.403c-409b.

163. "Tōdai zokkō gishiki no seiritsu o meguru sho mondai," "Zokkō no imi ni tsuite," and "Some Problems about the Origin of the Religious Lectures for Laymen, su-chiang." The last-named paper gives bibliographical references to other articles on the subject. The secondary literature on this subject is extensive: Hsiang Ta, "T'ang-tai su-chiang k'ao"; Sun K'ai-ti, "T'ang-tai su-chiang kuei-fan"; Naba Toshisada, "Zokkō to henbun"; Sawada Mizuho, "Shina Bukkyō shōdō bungaku"; Yamazaki Hiroshi, Shina Chūsei Bukkyō no tenkai, part 3; Michihata Ryōshū, Tōdai Bukkyō shi no kenkyū, part 2, pp. 228-270; Chou I-liang, "Tu 'T'ang-tai su-chiang k'ao'"; Hsiang Chüeh-ming, "Pu shuo T'ang-tai su-chiang k'ao"; Kuan Te-tung, "T'ang-tai su-chiang k'ao ti shang-ch'üeh"; Hsiang Ta, "Kuan-yü su-chiang k'ao tsai shuo chi chü hua"; etc. One of the reasons for the popularity of

this subject is its presumed relationship to pien-wen.

164. Chinese Transformation, pp. 253-254.

165. Information kindly supplied by Dan Ben-Amos.

166. See Jerome Mintz, Legends of the Hasidim, introduction.

167. "Professional Storytelling in China," p. 231.

168. Ennin's diary is an invaluable source for anyone investigating popular lectures. See Reischauer's translation, pp. 298-299, 310-311, and 316. Sun K'ai-ti's "T'ang-tai su-chiang kuei-fan," which relies heavily on the various collections of biographies of eminent monks, is also essential reading. Lo, Tun-huang pien-wen chiang-ching yen-chiu, pp. 872-978 gathers in one place a great deal of information on the performance aspects of popular lectures.

169. Hsü Chia-ling, "Wo tui pien-wen ti chi-tien ch'u-pu jen-shih."

170. Kenneth Ch'en, Chinese Transformation, p. 252.

171. Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo shih, p. 117.

172. See the next chapter.

173. Ch'ing and earlier versions. T incorporates Tun-huang materials. The single exception known to me is discussed in chapter six.

174. See chapter six.

175. "Folk Art," p. 258 in Dorson, ed., Folklore and Folklife.

176. Loc. cit.

177. "Rekhacarmma," p. 413n4.

178. My thinking on this subject, as regards China in particular, has been influenced by the work of David Johnson.

Notes to Chapter Six

1. 轉 . See below, note 35.

2. An important river in Szechwan (n.b.).

3. Cf. the famous Yüan drama on the theme of Wang Chao-chün by Ma Chih-yüan 馬致遠 (c. 1270-1330) entitled Autumn in the Han Palace 漢宮秋 .

4. Ch'üan T'ang shih, vol. 11, p. 8771; Ts'ai-tiao chi, 8.18a.

5. T98-107.

6. T105.13 which states that, after 800 years, Chao-chün's grave still exists.

7. Demiéville, "Quelque traits," p. 72.

8. "Ō Shō-kun henbun no seiritsu nendai kō."

9. Ch'üan T'ang shih, vol. 5, p. 3434.

10. Chang Ping-lin, Hsin Fang-yen, 3, 88a. Cf. Sawada, "Shina Bukkyō shōdō bungaku no seisei," p. 45.

11. The Poems of Li Ho (791-817), p. 245.

12. Saitō, pp. 343-44 and Suzuki, vol. 2, p. 253.

13. Li Ch'ang-chi ko-shih, 4.25b.

14. Li Ch'ang-chi ko-shih, 4.29b.

15. San-chia p'ing-chu Li Ch'ang-chi ko-shih, p. 277.

16. In Ch'en Hung-chih, Li Ch'ang-chi ko-shih chiao-shih,

p. 558. Also cited by Wang.

17. In ibid., loc. cit. Also cited by Wang.

18. Note especially the expression "Shu (i.e., Szechwan) paper."

19. More literally, "Lengthily, [she] turns over [the] Shu paper, [un]rolling [the story in pictures of] Ming-chün." It is possible that chüan has been used for chuan 轉 or 囀 , for which see notes 1 above and 35 below. Wang Ch'i (loc. cit.) states that he feels chüan is most likely an incorrect usage. Perhaps chuan was avoided because it occurs in the succeeding line. Rather than suggest an emendation, however, I have simply read chüan in the rising (third) tone and have understood it somewhat in the sense of chüan-shu 卷舒 . Iriya, rev. of Kanaoka Shōkō, Tonkō shutsudo bungaku, p. 97, interprets chüan Ming-chün as referring to the story of Chao-chün portrayed on an illustrated scroll, an interpretation with which I am in basic agreement.

20. Wang Ting-pao, T'ang che-yen, ch. 13, p. 148 (under "Contradictions"); Meng Ch'i, Pen-shih shih, p. 23 (under "Jests"); Li Fang, comp., T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi, ch. 251, p. 1949, citing T'ang che-yen.

21. Hirano Kenshō, Tōdai bungaku to Bukkyō, pp. 4-8.

22. See below, note 28.

23. Note the colloquial use of 阿誰 .

24. See Chang's poem entitled "Thoughts on the Death of General Wang's 'Silkworm Thorn' Songstress" 感王將軍柘枝妓沒 in Li Fang et al., ed., Wen-yüan ying-hua, 305.10b (p. 1911b).

25. See Po's famous "Song of Lasting Sorrow" 長恨歌, Po-shih Ch'ang-ch'ing chi, 12.64a (reduced format pagination); Po Hsiang-shan chi 白香山集 (SPPY), 12.8b.

26. These precise lines do not occur in the Maudgalyāyana transformation text but may be said to encapsulate the first portion of it.

27. 柘枝. This may be a transliteration of the Persian name Chaj (Tashkent). Another interpretation holds that it is a corruption of 拓跋 Toba or, more properly, Tabgatch, the name of the founder of the Northern Wei.

28. 問頭, in Zen Buddhist parlance, is a T'ang colloquial expression meaning "conundrum for meditation." See Tsu-t'ang chi (bibliographical information in my Tun-huang Popular Narratives), I-180.10, III-47.1, and V-85.10, 103.13, and 111.1. In the Sung, this was usually referred to as a "topic" 話頭. It is the same device which is now best known as a kōan 公案 ("public case"). But 問頭 is also T'ang colloquial for 訊問 which is the basis for my translation. See T213.4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 15, and 252.9. The T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi and Pen-shih shih versions both have 款頭.

29. In ts'e 159-160, 13.4b-5a.

30. Ts'e, 34, 13.4b.

31. Ts'e 14, 135a.

32. Goblet Words from the Garden of Art, 4.7a.

33. Kao Li-shih wai-chuan 高力士外傳 (TTTS), ts'e 8, 7b.

34. Upadeśa, "dogmatic treatises." Here, however, the expression most likely refers to a type of T'ang Buddhist

humorous dialogue (hsiang-sheng 相聲). See Chang Hung-hsün, "Tun-huang chiang-ch'ang wen-hsüeh," p. 78.

35. Literally "to turn" or "to revolve" which might well refer to the actual manipulation of the scrolls. The parallel expressions chuan-ching 轉經 and chuan-tu 轉讀 both mean to hold a sūtra in one's hands and recite it while turning the scroll. See Ryūkoku daigaku, comp., Bukkyō daijii, vol. 6, p. 3385 and Nakamura Hajime, Bukkyō daijiten, pp. 988.2 and 989.2. Sun K'ai-ti ("Chung-kuo tuan-p'ien pai-hua hsiao-shuo ti fa-chan," TCC, p. 72), however, understands chuan in the expression chuan pien as meaning 囀 "warble" (i.e., 囀喉發調 "to trill out a tune"). Cf. Sawada, Bukkyō to Chūgoku bungaku, p. 44, who says that it means "to recite with rhythm." Tseng Yung-i, "Kuan-yü pien-wen ti t'i-ming," p. 218, holds that it means simply "recite" 轉讀. James Liu, The Chinese Knight-Errant, pp. 100 and 210 renders chuan-pien as "chanting about the unusual." Cf. note 40 below.

36. In the Works of Yüan Chen, there is a poem which is entitled "In Response to the Han-lin Academician Po's Poem of One Hundred Rhymes in Lieu of a Letter" 酬翰林白學士代書一百韻 (written around the year 800). The reference is to "A Poem of One Hundred Rhymes Sent to Yüan Chen in Lieu of a Letter" 代書詩一百韻寄微之 in the Collected Works of Po Chü-i, 13.1a-4b. Yüan (10.4b-5a) has a very interesting note to his own poem which reads as follows: "Everytime Chü-i and I were out wandering, we always would write our names on the walls of houses. We also once [had?] someone tell the story (說話) of Li Wa 李娃 in the house at Hsin-ch'ang. It went on from three in the morning to eleven o'clock and still it was not finished." This note is frequently cited as evidence that there was a tradition of professional storytelling for the T'ang classical tale. Y.W. Ma's careful critique no longer allows us to make this assumption. See his "The Beginnings of Professional Storytelling in China," pp. 232-233 and 238. Still, the

fact that both Kuo Shih and Yüan Chen casually mention "story-telling" indicates that there was at least an informal tradition that went by this name.

37. Li Fang, comp., T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi, ch. 269, p. 2109, citing T'an pin lu [Records of Talks about Guests] 譚賓錄. This passage also affords definite proof that oral transformation performances were already very well established by the middle of the eighth century in Szechwan.

38. An administrative circuit in what is now Chengtu, Szechwan.

39. An administrative district established by the T'ang government in what is now Yunnan.

40. This might possibly be understood as 轉 →囀 "warble," i.e., "chanted" or "sang." But the totality of evidence regarding the form of transformations available from T'ang sources indicates that "unroll [their] transformation [scrolls]," hence "perform transformations," is not incorrect here. See note 35 above.

41. It is impossible to say for certain whether the syntactical force of "order" implies that the "monks" also were made to "perform transformations." My translation tries to be as ambiguous as the original. The second clause might also be rendered with an indeterminate agent as "or [ordered] transformations to be performed along important roads" or even "[had] transformations performed along important roads." In any case, seng 僧 has wide applications in non-Buddhist texts and does not necessarily refer to formally ordained monks. Thus, even if the sentence is construed to have the "monks" performing the transformations, they might still be entertainers. The performance, it should be noted, takes place in a secular setting. Furthermore, the word cha renders suspect as genuine transformations of the Buddhist faith all that follows it in this sentence.

42. Huan-ying chuan, ts'e 11.22a. This story is also recorded in Tuan Ch'eng-shih's Miscellany of Rarities, First Collection, 5.4a.10.

43. See T670.9.

44. Yu-yang tsa-tsu, 5.2b-3a, under the heading "Strange Technique" 怪術.

45. See my translation of the Maudgalyāyana transformation text in Tun-huang Popular Narratives at note ——.

46. Huang Hsiu-fu, Mao-t'ing k'o-hua, ts'e 13, 4.7ab. Cited (with two minor errors) in Yeh Teh-chün, Hsi-ch'ü hsiao-shuo ts'ung-k'ao, vol. 2, p. 689. One the following page, Yeh also cites (in abridged form) the texts mentioned in notes 47 and 49.

47. Ho Yüan, Ch'un-chu chi-wen, ts'e 209, 2.3ab.

48. See Li Fang, comp., T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi, ch. 299, "Spirits" 神類, no. 9 (Wei An-tao), quoting I-wen lu [Record of Extraordinary Hearsay] 異聞錄.

49. Yen Yu-i 嚴有翼 (Sung), I-yüan tz'u-huang [Criticism from the Garden of Art] 藝苑雌黃, cited in Hu Tzu, T'iao-hsi yü-yin ts'ung-hua, ts'e 2567, 18.539.

50. T(2035)39.370a.

51. Z.1(2).a3.650.412ab-ba.

52. Cf. T(2035)49.475a.

53. Chavannes and Pelliot, "Un traité manichéen," pp. 353-362, have performed an inestimable service with their translation and annotations of this note. But even these two vastly learned savants complain at one point (p. 356n2) that "Toute cette série de titres est d'une obscurité

désespérante." See also Devéria, "Musulmans," pp. 458-463. Readers who wish to gain a fuller understanding of Tsung-chien's note are urged to consult these studies. I have provided only minimal commentary.

54. In Buddhism, 明王 means vidyā-rāja, spirit-king of the pure word who invokes the wrath of Vairocana against evil beings.

55. These binomes are, respectively, ancient Chinese cosmogonic and astrological terms. Devéria, "Musulmans," p. 459, gives as his translation "Dissertations sur le commencement du Ciel et de la Terre."

56. Māni?

57. For this very reason, a sūtra lecturer (T464.10 and 12) criticizes Persians (i.e., Nestorianism), Manichaeism, and Zoroastrianism. He is at pains to make explicit the distinction between Buddhism and other religions that entered China from the West.

58. See chapter thirteen of T'ang Transformation Texts.

59. Information gained during a conversation with Wu Hsiao-ling and Li Shih-yü in Peking on the evening of August 3, 1981. I have also seen references in written sources to a "Southern Group Brothel" (Nan-pang chi-yüan 南幫妓院) and suspect that it may be the same center as the Nan-fang chi-yüan mentioned by Li and Wu.

60. See the paragraphs preceding this one. The term pien-wen may also be found in several Ming and Ch'ing texts where the author or editor is citing a T'ang period source. In no case that I am aware of does a source written after the Five Dynasties but before this century fully comprehend the meaning of the term.

61. Chung-kuo su-wen-hsüeh kai-lun, p. 108.

62. For the whole passage in context, see Tsang's Fu-pao t'ang chi, ch. 3, p. 57. Meng Yao's citation of the same passage in Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo shih, vol. 4, pp. 604-605, is liable to misinterpretation for its lack of context as well.

63. Chou I-liang, "Tu T'ang-tai su-chiang k'ao," p. 383 and Chou Shao-liang, "T'an T'ang-tai min-chien wen-hsüeh," p. 75.

64. Chang-sun Wu-chi, Sui-shu ching-chi chih, ch. 3, pp. 85-86 and 94.

65. The name of an ancient Chinese party game. The loser had to drink an alcoholic beverage as punishment.

66. There is a short biography of this man in ch. 76 of the Chin History (KM, 1282.3).

67. "Lüeh shuo 'pien' tzu ti lai-yüan," p. 3.

68. See chapter two at note 141 and following.

69. "Lüeh shuo 'pien' tzu ti lai-yüan," pp. 3-4.

70. T(2059)50.360a.

71. Cf. Nakamura, Bukkyōgo, p. 445a.

72. Tun-huang pien-wen shu-lun, p. 18.

Notes to Chapter Seven

1. See the "Appendix on Dating" at the end of this chapter.

2. Schafer, The Golden Peaches, p. 28.

3. Introduction to Perspectives on the T'ang, p. 18.

4. "Tun-huang Texts," p. 186.

5. "Out of China."

6. The Religions of China, p. 124 (italics mine).

7. Sung Min-ch'iu, comp., T'ang ta chao-ling chi, p. 588.

8. Chapter six.

9. See my discussion of the term p'u in chapters ten and twelve of T'ang Transformation Texts.

10. The meaning of this title is disputed (Book on the Demise of Yüeh?).

11. Though it was popular as a song at the end of the Han, "Southeast-ward Flies the Peacock" probably did not take its present shape until about the fifth century.

12. Origins and Authors, p. 8.

13. Chung-kuo su-wen-hsüeh shih, vol. 1, p. 269. The same claim was repeated in Cheng's Ch'a-t'u-pen Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh shih, p. 450.

14. I have checked all the edicts for Chen-tsung's reign that I could lay my hands on as well as the annals in the Sung History. Also cf. Fo-tsu t'ung-chi, T(2035)49.402a-

408b; Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai, T(2036)49.660c-661c; and Pi Yüan, Hsü TCTC, vol. 1, pp. 463-808. My suspicion is that the reasons for the demise of the transformations and transformation texts during the Sung period were much more subtle than overt suppression.

15. Tr. in Goodrich, A Short History, p. 130 (italics mine).

16. Ibid., p. 130.

17. Aruthur Christopher Moule, tr., in his Christians in China; Before the Year 1550 (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: Macmillan, 1930), p. 65, quoted by Goodrich, Short History, p. 131.

18. See chapter eight.

19. Adduced in the latter part of this chapter.

20. "Les débuts," p. 570.

21. Except in such outlying and strongly Buddhist areas as Tun-huang where it continued in use through the first third of the eleventh century.

22. Ch'o-keng lu, p. 306.

23. For a brief discussion of the term ch'uan-ch'i, see Mair, "Scroll Presentation," p. 41n19.

24. Chuang-yüeh wei-t'an, p. 1a.

25. See the beginning of chapter eight.

26. Ch'o-keng lu, p. 332.

27. J.V.G. Mills, tr., Ying-yai sheng-lan, p. 97.

W.P. Groeneveldt, tr., Historical Notes, p. 53, translates the same passage. See also Feng Ch'eng-chün, ed., Ying-yai sheng-lan chiao-chu, p. 15, and Paul Pelliot, "Les grands voyages," p. 370.

28. For more information on these subjects, see chapter eleven of T'ang Transformation Texts.

29. The word could also, evidently, mean "unfold" or "spread out."

30. "Sprechsaal," p. 34.

31. "There is another type of person who variously draws human figures, fish, beasts, insects, and reptiles in the form of what in China would be a handscroll with two pieces of wood three feet in height and level at the top as uprights for the painting. The man [i.e., the performer] sits cross-legged on the ground with the pictures set up on the ground. He unrolls a section and, facing forward, using his foreign language, explains the background of the section in a loud voice. The audience sits round about and listens, sometimes laughing, sometimes crying, just as though someone were telling expository tales (p'ing-hua) in China." Hsi-yang fan-kuo chih, p. 10.

32. Ch'üan-hsiang p'ing-hua wu-chung. The originals are in the Japanese Cabinet Library. See Li Pen-yao, Sung Yüan Ming p'ing-hua yen-chiu, pp. 19-48, for a relevant discussion of the origins of pien-wen and its vital influence on the development of the colloquial short story, including p'ing-hua, in China.

33. Noted by Sun K'ai-ti in the catalog of the library of the Mōri 毛利 family in Japan. See Sun's Chung-kuo t'ung-su hsiao-shuo shu-mu, p. 2 and Hanan, "Sung and Yüan Vernacular Fiction," p. 175n83.

34. Saryu Doshi, "Spring Festival: The Vasanta Vilasa (three vignettes)," pp. 37-38, plus plate, in "Homage to Kalamkari," Mārg.

35. Cf. A-ying, Chung-kuo lien-huan t'u-hua shih-hua, p. 8.

36. Chiu-chiu hsiao-hsia lu, 12.10ab.

37. For his biography, see the first entry in History of the Chin Dynasty (Chin Shih 金史) 77.

38. A similar stratagem is employed in a Yüan drama with a T'ang setting, the anonymous Hsiao Yü-ch'ih chiang-tou chiang jen fu kuei ch'ao, 7b-8b.

39. Ch'ien Ts'ai, Shuo Yüeh ch'üan-chuan, pp. 275-76.

40. See T'ao Chün-ch'i, Ching-chü chü-mu ch'u-t'an, p. 283.

41. Tom Gee, Stories of Chinese Opera, pp. 270-273.

42. Shansi sheng wen-wu kuan-li kung-tso wei-yüan-hui, Yong-lo kung, preface, p. 16.

43. See chapter nine of T'ang Transformation Texts.

44. Yung-lo kung, plates 136 and 137.

45. Reference is to the plates section of Liu Yüan-lin, Ch'ing-ming shang-ho t'u chih tsung-ho yen-chiu.

46. Owned by Huang Chün-pi 黃君璧 (ibid., B2).

47. Ibid., A9.

48. It is difficult to tell from the reproduction in Liu exactly what is being displayed.

49. Also reproduced among Liu's plates.

50. Here, however, there appears neither to be a cloth nor a narrator holding a pointer. The same is true of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (A) copy, section nine, except that it does show a curtain of sorts.

51. Ch'iu Ying (Shih-chou) 明 仇英 (仇十洲) Copies (see plates in Liu, ibid.).

52. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (A) copy shows in this position a horizontal scroll depicting four figures.

53. Priest, intro. and notes, Ch'ing Ming Shang Ho, detail 9.

54. Whitfield, "Chang Tse-tuan's Ch'ing-Ming shang-ho t'u," appendix 3, pp. 196-206. See also Professor Chiang Fu-tsung, "A City of Cathay."

55. Iris Pian told me that, somewhere in her travels around the world, she did see a copy of the "Picture of Spring Festival by the River" which included a picture storyteller. I have not been able to determine which one this might be.

56. Yang-chou hua-fang lu, ch. 11, p. 258.

57. Ch'ing pai lei-ch'ao, 77.43. Hsü K'o's notes, especially in fascicles 77-80, are a veritable treasure trove of information about Chinese performing arts.

58. Called Molon Toyin and Labay or Labuy (i.e., "Turnip").

59. See Sárközi, "A Mongolian Picture-Book."

60. Giles, A Chinese-English Dictionary, no. 6662.

61. Li Feng-hsing, Chung-kuo min-chien i-shu, pp. 54-56.

62. See chapter thirteen of T'ang Transformation Texts.

63. Origins and Authors, appendix II, pp. 112-113.

64. A fine set of such screens (date unknown to me, probably from mainland China) may be seen in the Breckinridge Public Affairs Center of Bowdoin College at York, Maine. On the popularity and didactic use of pictures of hell during the T'ang and Sung periods, see Eberhard, Guilt and Sin in Traditional China, p. 46.

65. Pp. 171ff.

Notes for Appendix to Chapter Seven on Dating

1. See my "Introduction" to Tun-huang Popular Narratives and cf. Kenneth Ch'en, Buddhism in China, p. 289.

2. Chiang-shih-hsing chih pien-wen yen-chiu, pp. 2 and 34.

3. For a detailed study of the sources of the Tun-huang Wu Tzu-hsü story see ibid., pp. 19-34. Technically, this is not a genuine transformation text.

4. Tun-huang ku-chi hsü-lu, p. 336.

5. Hsieh Hai-p'ing dates the Chang I-ch'ao transformation text to sometime between the years 856-873. Chiang-shih-hsing chih pien-wen yen-chiu, p. 3. For a study of the historical materials related in the Chang I-ch'ao transformation text, see ibid., pp. 81-88.

6. See History of the Han (CH), p. 3803.

7. Cf. Nemoto Makoto, "Ō Shō-kun henbun no seiritsu nendai kō."

8. Śāriputra et les six maîtres, p. 1.

Notes to Chapter Eight

1. Compare E.D. Edwards: Chinese Prose Literature of the Tang Period, Vol. II, (London, 1938), pp. 1 et ff [Průšek's original note].

2. "Researches into the Beginnings of the Chinese Popular Novel," pp. 108-109.

3. An Introduction to Chinese Literature, p. 141.

4. "Les débuts de la littérature en Chinois vulgaire," p. 564.

5. Ibid., p. 566.

6. Chung-kuo tuan-p'ien pai-hua hsiao-shuo ti fa-chan, p. 77.

7. "Henbun to kōshi," p. 127.

8. Chung-kuo su-wen-hsüeh shih, 1, pp. 180ff. See also Hsieh Wu-liang, "Fo-chiao tung lai tui Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh chih ying-hsiang," especially pp. 29-32, for the influence of pien-wen on various types of prosimetric storytelling.

9. "Tun-huang Fo-ching pien-wen shu-lun," p. 24.

10. Pao-chüan tsung-lu, p. 1.

11. Tzu-ti-shu tsung-mu, p. 4.

12. Sung, Yüan, Ming chiang-ch'ang wen-hsüeh, p. 1. Sawada, Bukkyō to Chūgoku bungaku, p. 43 makes a similar statement.

13. Among those he mentions, for the Sung, are t'ao-chen 陶眞, yai-tz'u 涯詞, ku-tzu-tz'u 鼓子詞,

chu-kung-tiao 諸宮調, and fu-chuan 覆賺; for the Yüan, tz'u-hua 詞話, yü-shuo 馭說, and huo-lang-er 貨郎兒; and, for the Ming and Ch'ing, t'an-tz'u 彈詞, ku-tz'u 鼓詞, and pao-chüan 寶卷. With profound apologies and the sinking feeling that several of them may not be wholly accurate, I offer the following crude translations of these genre names: Amusing with the Truth, Horizon Lyrics, Little Drum Lyrics, Medley, Profit-Turning, Lyric Tales, Charioteer Tales, The Peddlar, Strum Lyrics, Drum Lyrics, and Precious Scrolls.

14. Shina bungaku geijutsu kō, p. 181.

15. "Tun-huang su-wen-hsüeh chih fa-hsien chi ch'i chan-k'ai," pp. 192-193.

16. In the colophon to the section on "Buddhist cantos" 佛曲 (Lo's name for pien-wen in a broad sense). To shuo ching 說經, we can add shuo ts'an-ch'ing 說參請 and shuo hun-ch'ing 說諢請.

17. See Ogawa Tamaki, "Henbun to kōshi" and Hsieh Hai-p'ing, Chiang-shih-hsing chih pien-wen yen-chiu.

18. Sung-tai hua-pen yen-chiu, p. 11.

19. Tun-huang pien-wen shu-lun, p. 111.

20. Jaworski, "Notes," p. 193, sees the progression as pien-wen ⟶ pao-chüan, t'an-tz'u, ku-tz'u ⟶ popular novel.

21. "Heroic Verse and Heroic Mission," pp. 882-883.

22. "Izuchenie drevnekitaĭskikh pis'menn'ikh pamyatnikov," p. 61. In her bibliography of recent Soviet studies on Chinese literature, Jeanne Kelly mentions an article (item no. 284, not available to me) by Men'shikov on the medley

(chu-kung-tiao) that "places this genre within the chain of genres linking pien-wen and Yüan tsa-chü." See also Kelly's item no. 286 for another article by Men'shikov dealing with the history of pien-wen as a genre.

23. "Tun-huang so ch'u T'ang pien-wen hui lu," p. 10.

24. "Ts'ung pien-wen tao t'an-tz'u." See also Liu Ching-an and Hsü Fu-sen, Chung-kuo su-wen-hsüeh lun-wen hui-pien, pp. 159-162.

25. "Old Chinese Ballads," p. 83.

26. In his "T'ung-hsün [Communication]," 1925, p. 8a.

27. See Sawada Mizuho, Zōho hokan no kenkyū, p. 28 and Sakai Tadao, Chūgoku zensho no kenkyū, pp. 438-441.

28. Cf. T851-853.

29. Cf. T10.3-11.

30. This analysis is based on Wang Ch'iu-kuei, "The Transformation of the Meng Chiang-nü Story," chapter 3, "The Tun-huang Versions," pp. 36-51.

31. See Wang Chung-min, Tun-huang ku-chi hsü-lu, p. 348.

32. Chung-kuo shih-ko shih, p. 169.

33. Ibid., p. 173. On pien-wen and Indian influence on Chinese theater generally, see Chou I-pai, Chung-kuo hsi-chü shih, pp. 183ff.

34. See the two "Chu-kung-tiao feng yüeh tz'u yün t'ing [Pavilion of Windy Moonlight and Purple Clouds à la Medley]" 諸宮調風月紫雲亭 by Shih Chün-pao 石君寶 and Tai Shan-fu 戴善甫, listed in Fu Hsi-hua, Yüan-tai tsa-chü ch'üan-mu, pp. 181 and 201.

35. Li-li Ch'en, "Outer and Inner Forms of Chu-kung-tiao," especially pp. 141-143. Ch'en offers a list of striking similarities between the language describing battle scenes in the Wu Tzu-hsü story and two medleys. I consider the Wu Tzu-hsü story to be an evolutionary offshoot of transformation texts, in combination with pre-T'ang fictionalized histories, that came into being while the transformations themselves were still current.

36. The Golden Age of Chinese Drama, pp. 11 and 163. On this subject, see also Kawgauchi Hisao, "Setsuwa yori gigaku e." Stephen West (Vaudeville and Narrative, pp. 52-53), while accepting an organic relationship between pien-wen and chu-kung-tiao, rightly points out that the former is more a type of narrative and the latter more a type of drama.

37. Chiang Li-hung, Tun-huang pien-wen tzu-i t'ung-shih, pp. 76-77.

38. Ibid., pp. 73-74.

39. Review of Li-li Ch'en, Master Tung's Western Chamber Romance, p. 212.

40. Kuo-chü ku-shih yüan-yüan.

41. HT, pp. 250-251.

42. See the translation by Eduard Erkes of chapter one of Wang's groundbreaking work, Sung Yüan hsi-ch'ü shih.

43. "On Early Chinese Theatrical Performances."

44. The introduction to my Tun-huang Popular Narratives provides more information on a different aspect of the study.

45. "Chung-kuo hsi-chü ti ch'i-yüan ho fa-chan," p. 3.

46. See also Hsieh Wu-liang, "Fo-chiao Tung lai tui Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh chih ying-hsiang," section 3, "Fo-chiao p'u-chi p'ing-min wen-hsüeh chi pien-wen i-hou hsin t'i wen-hsüeh chih fa-chan [The Extension of Buddhism in the Literature of the Common People and the Development of a New Form of Literature after Transformation Texts]" 佛教普及平民文學及變文以後新體文學之發展, pp. 22-32.

47. See Arthur Waley, The Nine Songs.

48. Hou Han shu (KM), ch. 90B, 833.4.

49. In Wen-hsüan [Selection of Literature] 文選, ch. 2.

50. Chang Heng, for example, explicitly mentions the Sanskrit word for Buddhist relic (śarīra). An astonishing variety of entertainments (among them many types of illusionism and prestidigitation) came to Han China from Central, South, and West Asian countries. Cf. An Tso-chang, Liang-Han yü Hsi-yü kuan-hsi shih, pp. 171-174. For archeological evidence of some Han entertainments, see Judith Magee Boltz, "Divertissement in Western Han."

51. This refers to seven tunes by Liang Wu-ti preserved in the Collection of Ballad Poetry (Yüeh-fu shih-chi 樂府詩集), 51.

52. Lu-shui t'ing tsa-shih, 24.22a.

53. Early Nan-hsi Plays, p. 16.

54. A Short History of the Chinese People, pp. 139-140.

55. Bharata is mentioned by Bhāsa (end of the second century I.E.) and may not be much older than him. This is the latest date given but some scholars have placed him as

early as the second century B.I.E. The dramatic tradition codified under Bharata's name contains many elements that certainly derive from several centuries before the beginning of the international era. See Konow, The Indian Drama, tr. S.N. Ghosal, pp. lxxxii, 3, and 81.

56. I have also gathered extensive evidence of the similarity between dance postures depicted in Tun-huang wall-paintings as well as in other T'ang paintings and those codified in classical Indian dance treatises.

57. William Dolby's "The Origins of Chinese Puppetry" is a useful and helpful collection of references in Chinese texts to puppets but is completely innocent of existing scholarship, particularly in Japanese and in western languages, on the subject. Dolby seems to ignore altogether the fact that Chinese string-puppets came from abroad.

58. Le Feng Sou T'oung Yi, ch. 4, p. 112.

59. For the use of funeral effigies during Chou times, see the "T'an-kung" 檀弓下 (4) chapter of the Records of Ritual 禮記, 9.20b (p. 172b) in Shih-san ching chu-shu.

60. "K'uei-lei hsi ti yu-lai." See also Ch'ang Jen-hsia Fo-ching wen-hsüeh ku-shih hsüan, pp. 18-19, esp. p. 19n1.

61. "Lieh-tzu and Buddhist Sūtras," Regrettably, Lo does not acknowledge Dschi's remarkable investigative contributions. My account in the remainder of this paragraph is more indebted to Dschi than to Lo. See also Kuo Li-ch'eng, "Hsiao-ch'eng ching-tien yü Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo hsi ch'ü," p. 161.

62. See A.C. Graham, tr., The Book of Lieh-tzu, "The Questions of T'ang," pp. 110-111.

63. His father or grandfather may have done the actual work of putting together the book from various sources, both old and new.

64. For a translation of the story in question, see Chavannes, Cinq cent contes, vol. 3, pp. 170-172.

65. Ed. Senart, vol. 3, pp. 33-41.

66. Sieg and Siegli, ed., Tocharische Sprachreste, vol. 1, pp. 1-14.

67. See the introduction to Mair, Tun-huang Popular Narratives.

68. For a review of scholarly views on the etymology of this word see Otto Spies, "Türkisches Puppetheater," pp. 7-12.

69. Spies, ibid., p. 9.

70. Cf. Basham, Wonder, "Appendix XII: The Gypsies," who has this to say (pp. 513-514) on the subject:

> According to the 11th c. Persian poet Firdūsī, who collected many legends and traditions of pre-Muslim Persia in his "Book of Kings" (Shāh-nāmah), the 5th-century Sāsānian king Bahrām Gūr, invited ten thousand Indian musicians to his realm, and gave them cattle, corn and asses, that they might settle in the land and entertain his poorer subjects, who had been complaining that the pleasures of music and dance were reserved for the rich. But the musicians refused to settle; they ate the cattle and seed-corn which the king had given them, and wandered about the land like wolves or wild dogs.

> Though Firdūsī's story may not be wholly accurate, it shows that low caste Indian musicians were well known in the Middle East at a very early time. With the Arab conquest of Sind in the early 8th century further groups of Indian entertainers must have found their way westwards and later have moved on to Africa and Europe. Folk called Athinganoi are recorded as living in Constantinople in A.D. 810, and later Byzantine records refer to these Athinganoi or Azinganoi as magicians and conjurors. These were probably the forerunners of the Tsigany bands who appeared in Central and Western Europe in the late Middle Ages. The earliest record of Gypsies in Europe other than in the Balkans is from the German city of Hildesheim, where a passing band is recorded in 1407. A great horde of Gypsies passed through Basel in 1422, under a chief who called himself Michael, Prince of Egypt. Within a few decades they had overrun all Europe; the earliest records show that they had all the characteristics of their descendants — they were careless, lazy, dirty and cheerful, skilled in metal work and tinkering, splendid musicians and dancers, their bodies bedecked with bright garments and jewellery, their menfolk cunning horse-dealers, their womanfolk telling fortunes, and both sexes losing no opportunity to pilfer from the unsuspecting gorjo.

71. Hui-jan, comp., Lin-chi lu, tr. Sasaki, p. 6 (Chinese text, p. 3).

72. A very similar poem is elsewhere (T'ang-shih chi shih, 29.6b, cf. Ch'üan T'ang shih, vol. 1, p. 42)

attributed to the T'ang poet Liang Huang 梁 鍠. A note says that it was recited by the T'ang emperor, Hsüan-tsang, when he removed to the west in his flight from the capital which had been taken over by rebels.

73. Published by Naba Toshisada, "Tōdai no shayū ni tsukite," NT, p. 482.

74. Ch. 97A(CH), p. 3952.

75. Ch. 11(CH), p. 324.

76. The majority of historians of Chinese theater uncritically recount the anecdote in the History of the Han of Shao-weng's invocation of the moving image of Lady Li. No one has attempted to relate it meaningfully to later developments (i.e., from the Sung period on). In section 26.g.6 of the volume on Physics in his Science and Civilization in China (vol. 4, pp. 12ff), Joseph Needham mentions a number of devices and techniques used for making optical illusions. He begins his account with the Shao-weng anecdote. Needham reminds us that the story is also recounted in the Records of the Grand Historian (Shih-chi [KM], 12.43b and 28.11bc; [CH], 12.458 and 28.1387-88). It is slightly briefer here and the Lady, who is accompanied by a "Ghost of the Furnace," is surnamed Wang. Needham, too, suggests that this is an early reference to the shadow-play (ying-hsi 影戲). But, in both places, the account is too sketchy to tell exactly what was involved. Since it seems that the emperor was sitting behind two curtains, it is possible that Shao-weng had a girl walk back and forth between them. The flickering lamps, the curtains, Shao-weng's suggestions, and the emperor's wishful imagination would have been more than sufficient to bring about an apparition of his beloved concubine. In any case, there is no indication that any sort of dramatic presentation was involved. Shao-weng simply caused to appear before the emperor's eyes a moving image of his lost beloved. Beyond

this it is difficult to speculate.

77. And The Records of the Grand Historian (see the previous note).

78. It is possible to punctuate so as to read "...making shadows, people first...."

79. Cited in TSCC, section 17, i-shu tien (canon of arts), 805.2b.

80. Shih-wu chi-yüan, ch. 9, p. 351.

81. We must understand that these were "monks" only in a very special sense and that, by "popular lectures," the usual meaning of "lectures for laymen on sūtras" does not fit here.

82. "Chin-shih hsi-ch'ü," TCC, p. 261. See also p. 303.

83. Art in Indonesia, p. 128. Stache-Rosen, "Shadow Players and Picture Showmen," p. 50, also emphasizes the uncanny night atmosphere of some Indian folk entertainments.

84. See A-wei, P'i-ying-hsi, pp. 1-2 and Kuan Chün-che, Pei-ching p'i-ying-hsi, p. 6.

85. H.W. Bailey, "The Culture of the Iranian Kingdom of Ancient Khotan," p. 27 (this article deals with the period 100 B.I.E. to 400 I.E.) and "Story-Telling in Buddhist Central Asia," p. 66.

86. Mayrhoffer, Wörterbuch des Altindischen, vol. 1, p. 407.

87. Sushilkumar De (History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 501 and 501n2) is doubtful of the essential connection between

chāyā-nāṭaka (such as Dūtāṇgada and Mahānāṭaka) and the evolution of Sanskrit drama. He even suspects that the expression chāyā-nāṭaka may not mean "shadow-play" at all in these cases but, rather, suggests that it might mean "an epitomised adaptation of previous plays on the subject." But the chāyā-nālai in question here that were known to exist in Central Asia really were shadow-plays. See Thomas, Tibetan Literary Texts, vol. 1, p. 116 and vol. 2, p. 312; Emmerich, Tibetan Texts, pp. 42-45 and p. 151; Bailey, ed., Khotanese Texts, vol. 6, pp. 131-132; and Bailey, comp., Prolexis to the Book of Zambasta, pp. 131-132.

88. Emmerick, ed. and tr., op. cit., pp. 92-93. Cf. Leumann, ed. and tr., Das nordarische Lehrgedicht, pp. 66-67.

89. Discussed in Bailey, "Mā'hyāra," pp. 276-280.

90. I-chien chih, san chih, hsing, 3.3b-4a.

91. "Puppenspiel und Schattentheater," pp. 129 and 134-135.

92. "Chin-shih hsi-ch'ü ti ch'ang-yen hsing shih ch'u tzu k'uei-lei-hsi ying-hsi k'ao." For another brief discussion of puppets as an important source of Chinese dramaturgy, see Wang Kuo-wei, "Lu-ch'ü yü-t'an," p. 1.

93. Op. cit., pp. 291-305.

94. Chinese Shadow Plays, p. 44.

95. Op. cit., p. 291.

96. Tung-ching meng-hua lu, ch. 8 in TCWSC, p. 49. Cf. Sawada's analysis of this passage in Jigoken hen, p. 142. See also Chu Wei-chih, "Sha-kung-ta-la," p. 8.

97. Another name for wayang kulit ("leater shadows") is rekha-carmma which seems to be the Sanskrit equivalent of valulang inukir ("chiselled leather") although it has not yet been found in any Indian source. See Ensink, "Rekha-carmma," p. 414n5 (continued from p. 413). This is interesting for it may shed some light on the meaning of ts'u 鏃 in this passage.

98. Tu-ch'eng chi sheng, in TCWSC, pp. 97-98; cf. Meng-liang lu, in TCWSC, p. 311.

99. TCWSC, p. 97.

100. TCWSC, p. 98.

101. Meng-liang lu, ch. 20, in TCWSC, p. 313.

102. Wu-lin chiu shih, ch. 6, in TCWSC, p. 455.

103. Cf. Lo Chen-yü's remarks on Buddhist cantos 佛曲 in Tun-huang ling-shih, 4.11a.

104. "Man t'an pien-wen ti ch'i-yüan," p. 13.

105. "T'ang-tai ch'uan-ch'i wen yü Yin-tu ku-shih."

106. Ibid., p. 1051b.

107. Ibid., pp. 1052b-1053a.

108. Tsa-pao tsang-ching 雜寶藏經, T(4)203, ch. 2. This collection was made in the third quarter of the fifth century by T'an Yao 曇曜 and Kiṃkāra. For other examples of such influence, see also Hu Huai-ch'en, "Chung-kuo ku-tai hsiao-shuo ti kuo-chi kuan-hsi."

109. See Kuo Li-ch'eng, "Hsiao-ch'eng ching-tien yü Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo hsi-ch'ü," pp. 168-169.

110. T'ai Ching-nung, "Fo-chiao ku-shih yü Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo," pp. 105-108.

111. Standard edition of the Jātaka by Fausbøll in seven volumes.

112. Cowell, et al., The Jataka, 6 volumes.

113. A.L. Basham, "The Pali Jatakas," p. 114.

114. "The Girl that Became a Bird," p. 79.

115. "T'ang-tai ch'uan-ch'i wen," p. 1052. Chi Hsien-lin, "Indian Literature in China," p. 125, also recognizes the vital influence of Indian literature on the T'ang classical short story.

116. "Chung-kuo ku-tai hsiao-shuo chih wai-kuo tzu-liao," p. 3a. Hu had another, earlier article on this subject of foreign borrowings in Chinese fiction, entitled "Chung-kuo ku-tai hsiao-shuo chih kuo-chi kuan-hsi," in which he stated (p. 629b) the cautious attitude he adopted: "Of fiction by Chin and T'ang writers, all those which deal with supernatural matters invariably take their materials from Buddhist books, or they may also be suspected of pilfering from Indian stories. However, without decisive proof, one dare not declare that such is necessarily the case."

117. "Fo-chiao ku-shih yü Chung-kuo hsiao-shuo," p. 122.

118. T'ang-tai hsiao-shuo yen-chiu, preface, pp. 1-2.

119. T'ang-tai hsiao-shuo yen-chiu (1946 edition), preface, p. 3. The influence of pien-wen on T'ang ch'uan-ch'i has also been discussed by Ch'eng I-chung in "Kuan-yü pien-wen," pp. 89-90.

120. Chūgoku shosetsu shi kō, p. 170.

121. CH, p. 1745. In his introduction to Chung-kuo ku-tai tuan-p'ien hsiao-shuo hsüan-chu, P'an Chung-kuei cites the following sentence from Chuang-tzu in defense of the antiquity of Chinese fiction: 飾小說以干縣令，其於大達亦遠矣. None of the half-dozen commentaries that I have consulted interprets hsiao-shuo here to mean "fiction." They all take it to imply mean or petty ideas. Cf. Watson, tr., op. cit., p. 296 (italics mine): "If you parade your little theories and fish for the post of district magistrate, you will be far from the Great Understanding."

122. Book of the Demise of Yüeh?

123. For example, Jen-min hua-pao, 9 (1959), 31; "Sung Yüan hsiao-shuo hua-pen ti i-shu ch'eng-chiu," p. 41; and "A Performance of Story-Telling and Ballads."

124. Liu Chih-yüan, "Ch'eng-tu T'ien-hui shan-yai mu ch'ing-li chi," pp. 98-99 and plate 8, number 13.

125. After I finished this section, Anthony Yu directed me to an important article by Yau-Woon Ma which thoroughly debunked the notion that this figure is a storyteller. See his "The Beginnings of Professional Storytelling in China."

126. "Shuo-shu ch'i-yüan wen-t'i chih-i."

127. In the section "References to Lost Books (Pieced Together) from Caches at Two Secret Mountains" 二西綴遺引 of Shao-shih shan-fang pi-ts'ung, p. 486.

128. "T'ang-tai ch'uan-ch'i wen," p. 1066.

129. An Introduction to Chinese Literature, p. 150.

130. For a deeper discussion of this issue, see my "The Narrative Revolution in Chinese Literature: Ontological Presuppositions" and the accompanying symposium in CLEAR (forthcoming).

131. See Sundararajan, "Chinese Stories of Karma and Transmigration," "Introduction (iv. Choice of Material.)"

132. A Brief History of Chinese Fiction, tr. Yang and Yang, p. 45.

133. Guide to Chinese Prose, p. 13.

134. Ibid., p. 82.

135. "Chung-kuo ch'ang-p'ien hsiao-shuo ti ch'i-yüan."

136. For one marvelous collection of such anecdotes that has been expertly translated, see Liu I-ch'ing, Shih-shuo hsin-yü, tr. Richard Mather.

137. Recent archeological excavations in the area of ancient Ch'u 楚 have yielded intriguing paintings that may help to reconstruct the mythology of that area. But none that I have seen are arranged so as to depict a flow of events in an extended narrative.

138. "Die Kunst der Totenspiele," "Three Popular Motives" (especially pp. 27-28), and "Historical Plays."

139. For a brief discussion of this subject, see Ho-lo t'u-shu ch'u-pan-she, ed., Chung-kuo shen-hua ku-shih, pp. 4-6. See also Mei Ying-yün, "Tun-huang pien-wen yü Fo-ssu pi-hua chih kuan-hsi," pp. 295 and 307-309.

140. Hightower, tr., The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien, p. 229, "On Reading the Seas and Mountains Classic," and p. 230n3 on the illustrations to this classic.

141. Mirashi, ed. and tr., Vākāṭaka Inscription, pp. 2, 12, 14 (verse 24), 14n4, and 15. Sheila Weiner has discussed the importance of Ajaṇṭā in the Buddhist narrative tradition of art in her Ajāṇṭā, pp. 80ff, "The Narrative Tradition of the Buddha Image."

142. Central-Asian Tracks, plate 29.

143. Ch. 00144, Serindia, IV, plate XCV.

144. "Miroku kashōkyōhen."

145. Essence and Development, pp. 186-187.

146. Tambiah, Buddhism and the Spirit Cults, plate 3 (facing p. 160).

147. A Thousand Lives Away, p. 50.

148. See Jane T. Bailey, "Some Burmese Paintings, Pt. 1."

149. Chung-kuo lien-huan t'u-hua shih-hua, p. 2.

150. Ibid., p. 3.

151. Ibid., p. 7.

152. Ibid., p. 7. For the history of other types of illustrated Chinese books, see Kuo Wei-ch'ü, Chung-kuo pan-hua shïh-lüeh.

153. Lai Ming detects Buddhist influence in the imaginative quality of the narrative when he says (History of Chinese Literature, p. 280) that this story of Hsüan-tsang is "one of the very few novels of romantic fantasy and imagination. This is no doubt due to the influences of Buddhist literature. For prior to the introduction of Buddhist literature to China, Chinese stories were merely outline sketches."

154. The bracketed stages lack formal proof of existence. The evolution of Hsi-yu chi is, of course, much more complicated than this schematized and hypothetical diagram can possibly convey. For a more detailed account, see Dudbridge, The Hsi-yu chi.

155. See Liu Ts'un-yan, Buddhist and Taoist Influences on Chinese Novels.

156. "Hsiao-shuo hsi-chü chung 'hui,' 'che,' 'ch'u' san tzu ti lai-li."

157. See Liu Ts'un-yan, Chinese Popular Fiction in Two London Libraries, pp. 19-20.

158. "Hsiao-shuo hsi-chü chung 'hui,' 'che,' 'ch'u' san tzu ti lai-li," p. 55.

159. Cf. Chen Tsu-lung, La vie et les oeuvres, pp. 61-68, an actual text of this type (P3770) used in popular lectures.

160. Op. cit., p. 153n614.

161. "The Origin of Fiction in China," p. 27.

162. Byan'ven' o Veimotsze, pp. 28-29. Italics mine.

163. "Notes on Chinese Storytellers," p. 30.

164. See Meng-liang lu, ch. 20, p. 311.

165. "Yu shuo-shu pien-ch'eng hsi-chü ti heng-chi."

166. Ibid., p. 418.

167. Hsi-ho tz'u-hua, 2.4b. Mao also holds that the four consecutive sets evolved into the four acts of Yüan drama.

168. Op. cit. (see note 165), p. 409.

169. Bunraku, p. 25.

170. "Introduction" to Adachi, The Voices and Hands of Bunraku.

171. Reisen in Siam, p. 503.

172. The Ramayana and the Malay Shadow-Play, pp. 49-51.

173. Rod Puppets, p. 22.

174. "Javanese Classical Dances," p. 220.

175. "The Dance in Java."

176. The Home of the Puppet-Play, p. 5.

177. Ibid., p. 9.

178. Ibid., pp. 10-12.

179. Traditional Indian Theatre, pp. 10-13, 113ff.

180. "Folk Theater in India," pp. 106-107.

181. Jigoku hen, p. 138.

182. Ancient Book Illumination, p. 31.

183. Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt, p. xliii.
The Tale of Two Brothers has been translated by Maspero, ibid., pp. 1-20.

184. In the symposium "Narration in Ancient Art," p. 70.

185. While there are no hard and fast rules governing

the proportion of text and pictures to determine which is primary, my experience has shown that when the text occupies approximately one-third or more of the total surface, the accompanying pictures are generally to be considered as illustrations of it.

186. Güterbock, in "Narration in Ancient Art," pp. 70-71.

187. Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc. in the British Museum, plates 10ff. See particularly plate 14 (K2089) and plate 40 (K1999).

188. Ancient Book Illumination, p. 31.

189. Quoted and translated by Żbikowski, Early Nan-hsi Plays, p. 129.

190. The Nature of Narrative, p. 4.

191. "On Dreams, Saints, and Fallen Angels," p. 372.

192. Chinese Literature, p. 23.

193. Op. cit., p. 146.

194. In Hu Shih-ying, ed., Ku-tai pai-hua tuan-p'ien hsiao-shuo hsüan, p. 32.

195. Sun K'ai-ti, "Chin-shih hsi-ch'ü," TCC, p. 262.

196. Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts, p. 1604, no. 4189, 1520e.

197. By Iris Pian, who showed a videotape and gave a lecture on the subject at a session of CHINOPERL during the Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting in Chicago (April 3, 1982).

198. Chen Chung-hsien, "Soochow Storytelling," p. 20.

199. Ibid., pp. 20-21.

200. Hsiao-shuo yü hsi-chü, p. 90.

201. The Chinese Vernacular Story, p. 168.

202. Śāriputra, p. 2.

Notes to Chapter Nine

1. Compare Kanaoka's remarks in "Mokuren henbun," pp. 132-139.

2. CTW, preface, 4b-5a.

3. Cf. Jacob, "Die Entwicklung des Schattentheaters," p. 14. This view has recently received support from A. Botsford, "The Inter-Relationship of Traditional Picture Storytelling Methods and Shadow Puppetry in India," quoted by Dallapiccola, Die "Paithan"-Malerei, p. 18n2:

> Shadow puppets may have been used as "pouncings" for pictures. This seems the more likely in view of the fact that the Chitrakars ["painters"] of Bengal have endogamous practices with the Mochis (tanners) of that area. The Mochi in Bengal also provide the bristles for the paint brushes to the pat ["picture scroll for storytelling"]-making Chitrakara... therefore the association of Mochis and Chitrakathis ["picture storytellers"] in Maharashtra, though not specifically mentioned in the Gazetteers, was probably not unusual during the time when their art was in favour. By making leather patterns for repeated pictures, one of the picture showmen may have been inspired to use leather patterns themselves in performance situations.
>
> When we look at the older and simpler leather puppets of Pinguli, Mysore and elsewhere, we see small puppets, not articulated; frequently they represent groups of people, including scenery and houses. In a word they are pictures, rather than individual puppet actors....
>
> It seems plausible enough that the art of story telling and ballading with illustrations —

whether rolling scrolls, large hangings or series of pictures, is a necessary antecedent to the development of the leather shadow-puppet show in India.

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While this bibliography is extensive, it is by no means intended to be exhaustive for Tun-huang literature in general nor even for Tun-huang transformation texts in particular. It consists chiefly of works which have been cited herein or were consulted during the period of research for this study. Additional references may be found in the section which lists catalogs and bibliographies as well as in the notes to my volume of translations of Tun-huang narratives. In a few instances, works which I have not been able to examine but which would appear to be particularly relevant for someone who wishes to continue these studies have also been included. Such works are listed in the last section of the bibliography.

All Chinese, Japanese, and Korean titles have been given in English as well as in romanization and characters. The translations in square brackets are my own. Those in parentheses are either established equivalents or have been provided by the authors and editors of the works concerned. Occasionally I have made minor, cosmetic changes in these latter renderings to bring them into agreement with acceptable English grammar and usage. In the majority of cases, the translations of titles are not at all elegant; they are meant to serve primarily as identifying tags for readers unfamiliar with ideographic East Asian languages.

In the Chinese section of the bibliography, basic information about the listed texts has been noted. Many of the pre-twentieth-century works have been described more fully in the following:

Gimm (especially pp. 583-620), des Rotours (especially pp. 72-118), Pian (especially pp. 235-237), Teng and Biggerstaff, and Edwards. For works of consequence not covered by these authors, where necessary, I have discussed in greater detail problems of authenticity, dating, filiation, and so on, at appropriate places in the text itself or in the notes. For all pre-twentieth-century works, I have tried to provide some indication of the time when the author, compiler, translator, or editor(s) lived. Failing this, the date of original publication or date of the preface is usually given.

Citations in the notes are to author and abbreviated forms of titles listed in the bibliography. Since these are sufficiently differentiable, it has not been felt necessary to provide an additional list of shortened titles.

N.B. Works from the Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist canons are not listed individually in the bibliography: specific references to such works occur only in the notes. The same is true of the standard dynastic histories of China and Tun-huang manuscripts. For the latter, where in the notes I do not refer specifically to the published source of a manuscript, the reference is either to the original in London, Paris, Leningrad, and Peking or to microfilms, photographs, and photocopies in my private collection, in the Harvard-Yenching Library, and in Olin Library of Cornell University.

The bibliography is divided into the following sections:

ADAWB — Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.

AKPAW — Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

AM — Asia Major.

APAW — Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

ArchOr — Archiv Orientální.

BBK — Bukkyō bungaku kenkyū [Studies on Buddhist Literature] 佛教文學研究. For publication information on individual volumes, see under Bukkyō bungaku kenkyū kai.

BCL — Fo-chiao yü Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh [Buddhism and Chinese Literature] 佛教與中國文學. Hsien-tai Fo-chiao hsüeh-shu ts'ung-k'an [Modern Studies of Buddhism] 現代佛教學術叢刊, 19 (Series 2, no. 9). Taipei: Ta-ch'eng wen-hua ch'u-pan-she, 1978.

BEFEO — Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient.

BHS — Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. See under Edgerton.

BSOAS — Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.

BSOS — Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.

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IAE — Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie.

IHQ — Indian Historical Quarterly

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JA — Journal Asiatique.

JAOS — Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JAS — Journal of Asian Studies.

JRAS — Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

JSS — Journal of the Siam Society.

KITLV — Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.

KM — K'ai-ming shu-tien reduced format edition of the standard, dynastic histories.

LitHer — Wen-hsüeh i-ch'an [Literary Heritage] 文學遺產. Section of the Kuang-ming jih-pao (Kuang-ming Daily) 光明日報.

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